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Parents' Work in a Family Context Linkages between Paid Work, Family Work, and Young Adolescents' Emotional Well-Being

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

PARENTS' WORK IN A FAMILY CONTEXT:
LINKAGES BETWEEN PAID WORK, FAMILY WORK,
AND YOUNG ADOLESCENTS' EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY
ELENA DUCKETT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY, 1997

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From books to talk shows, the popular press is replete with advice about how to successfully manage work and family life. This considerable media attention, much of which is directed toward women, reflects a concern in American society that has corresponded to the significant rise in dual-earner families over the past three decades. Despite the fact that most mothers and fathers work outside the home, many continue to debate “the historic conflict between job ambitions and home-centered orientation” (Webster, 1997, p. 27). Studies investigating the effects of parents’ employment on children, however, have emerged with a clear message: Children of dual-earner parents (i.e., an employed father and employed mother) are not necessarily better or worse off than children of single-earner parents (i.e., an employed father and a mother who does not work in the paid labor force; e.g., A. E. Gottfried & A. W. Gottfried, 1988).

Yet, undeniably, changing occupational patterns have brought about shifts in the day-to-day experience of families, and with them, varied expectations of appropriate responsibilities for women and men. The cultural definition of father may have expanded beyond breadwinner to include sharer of housework and child care (LaRossa,

1988), but it is well-established that mothers do most of these tasks whether or not they work outside the home. Further advances require studies of how family task sharing, or the deficiency thereof, may influence parental well-being, the quality of parent-child relations, and, consequently, the child. Because most studies have tended to consider one work setting at a time, there is also a gap in the research on relationships between work performed for employers and work performed for family (Bowes & Goodnow, 1996).

Work, paid and unpaid, is salient to daily family life. The present study attempts to understand a series of connections among paid work, unpaid work, family relations, and parents' and adolescents' well-being. Two sets of research questions are explored: (a) Is fathers' average percentage of time in family work (i.e., household chores, child care, and interaction with adolescents) linked to the overall quality of parent-child relations and the emotional well-being of young adolescents? and (b) Turning to day-to-day antecedents and consequences of family work, is work experience, specifically job-related absorption, linked to parents' subsequent involvement in family work, and does one spouse's post-job involvement in family work contribute to the other spouse's subsequent affect?

Although most research on work and family has focused on young children, the transitional age of early adolescence is a unique period of study. As Eccles and her colleagues (1993) observed: "Few

developmental periods are characterized by so many changes at so many different levels” (p. 90). These changes increase the potential for both positive and negative outcomes. Furthermore, adolescents have the cognitive capacity to evaluate their feelings, enabling us to examine the quality of the parent-child relationship from the youth’s vantage. From the perspective of parents, we know that fathers’ engagement in household concerns is related to mothers’ well-being when children are young (e.g., Ozer, 1995), but we lack information about these linkages when children are adolescents.

This study analyzes archival data from Larson and Richards’ (1994) research on the daily experience of 53 young adolescents and their parents. Two styles of data collection were used: The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) and traditional questionnaires. The ESM is a time-sampling approach that permitted measures of family members’ hour-to-hour activities and subjective states. In addition to the ESM, parents and children completed questionnaires that provided global measures of their attitudes and overall emotional well-being.

As recommended by Hoyle and Panter (1995), three types of diagrams delineate the hypotheses discussed in the study. First, the theoretical models of the *constructs* to be discussed are presented in the Introduction. Second, models of the observed *measures* are presented at the end of the literature review with a discussion of specific hypotheses. Third, refined models of *statistical relationships*

obtained through analysis of the observed measures are presented in the Results section.

The theoretical models that form the focus of this study are next discussed.

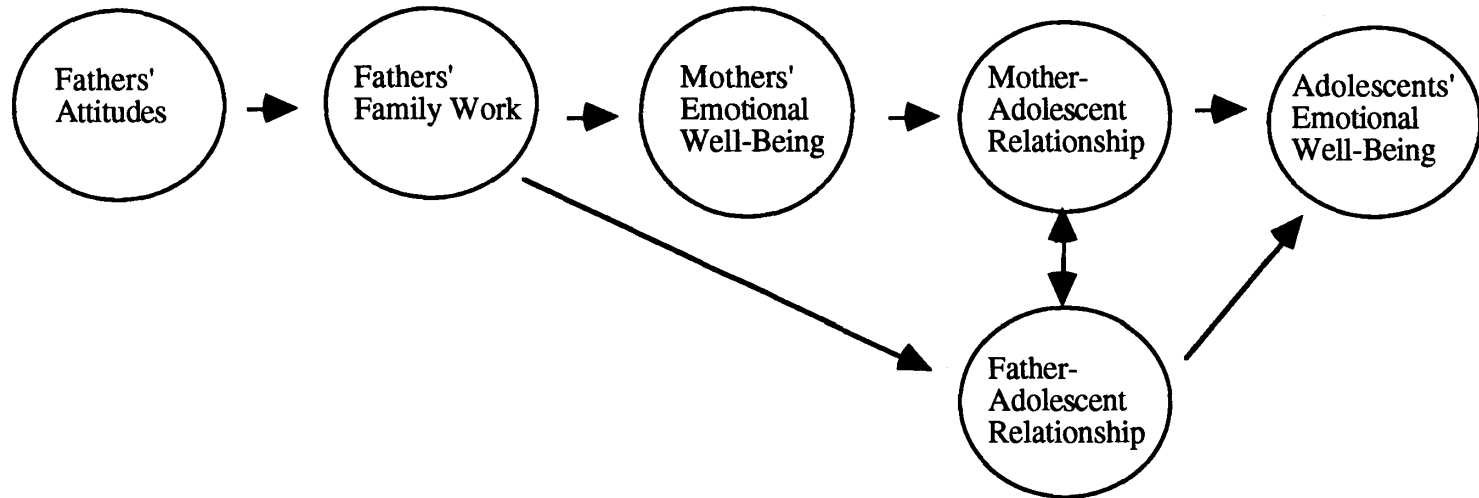
Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work to Parent-Adolescent Relations and Well-Being

Among dual-earner and single-earner families, is fathers' participation in family work connected to parent-adolescent relations and well-being? Here, the focus is on average or overall experience. As discussed in the literature review (Chapter II), prior research supports each of the proposed relationships. The unique features of the present study include the use of ESM measures of daily experience, data provided by different family members, and the combination of relations among these variables into a more comprehensive model.

Figure 1 depicts the following hypotheses: Fathers who view themselves as coproviders rather than main providers will spend more time doing family work. Fathers' time in family work will positively influence mothers' emotional well-being. Mothers' emotional well-being will predict more positive mother-adolescent relations, and mother-adolescent relations will predict more positive emotional well-being among adolescents. Furthermore, the quality of mother-adolescent relations will mediate a positive link between mothers' emotional well-being and adolescents' emotional well-being.

Figure 1

Predicted linkages of fathers' family work to parent-adolescent relations and well-being: The constructs.



Note. All relationships are expected to be positive.

As shown in Figure 1, the expected pathway from fathers' family work to the father-adolescent relationship differs from that proposed to the mother-adolescent relationship. Prior research has not demonstrated a relationship between fathers' well-being and fathers' time in family work, hence this connection does not appear in the diagram. We have little information about how children feel toward fathers who spend time in family work. It is reasonable to speculate that fathers' time in family work will predict the quality of father-adolescent relations, and father-adolescent relations will predict adolescents' emotional well-being.

Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work and Parent-Adolescent Relations to Adolescent Well-Being Over Time

Longitudinal data on adolescents' emotional well-being will be evaluated to determine whether the proposed relationships predict change over time. Consistent with concurrent hypotheses, the quality of parent-adolescent relations at Time 1 is expected to predict more positive levels of adolescents' emotional well-being at Time 2.

Linkages of Job Spillover to Subsequent Experience with Family

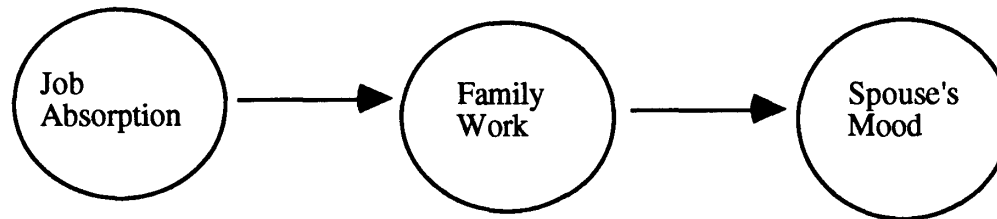
Among employed parents, do subjective states experienced during a paid job influence involvement in family work and interaction at home? And does one spouse's post-job engagement in family work influence the other spouse's level of mood? Here, the

focus is on hour-to-hour experience. Prior research has demonstrated that job stress decreases subsequent family interaction, but no study to date has examined the within-person relationship of job absorption to subsequent involvement in family work. As depicted in Figure 2, job-related absorption, or emotional involvement in paid work, is expected to reduce involvement in family work. Moreover, it is predicted that parents' engagement in these tasks, will lead to more positive affect for their spouses.

Particularly in analyses that evaluate levels of mood during a specific activity, the ESM may provide more accurate data than obtained in previous studies. Because participants record their moods as they experience them, the possibility of forgetfulness or distortion is less likely to occur with the ESM than with retrospective methods.

Figure 2

Predicted linkages of job spillover to subsequent experience with family: The constructs.



Note. The relationship between job absorption and family work is expected to be negative, whereas the relationship between family work and the spouse's mood is expected to be positive.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature review will survey the data relevant to the hypotheses discussed in the Introduction. Although the present study examines emotional well-being, this review will also include pertinent research on social, academic, and physical well-being.

The review is divided into six sections. In the first section, a brief history of work and family life is presented to provide a framework for the evolution of research on this topic. The second section deals with the developmental nature of the age period on which this study focuses -- adolescence. There are patterns of continuity as well as change in adolescents' relationships with their parents, and the quality of these relationships has an ongoing influence on adolescents' well-being.

In the next three sections, I will summarize and evaluate data on two major spheres of life that may affect parent-child relationships and well-being -- parents' paid and family work. The third section poses the question, Is family earner status related to children's well-being? I will discuss studies that suggest little connection between parents' employment status and outcome among adolescents. The fourth section considers the relationship of employment to parents'

own well-being. What is the role of paid work in health and role strain concerns, and how does job experience “spill over” into family experience? The fifth section further elaborates the association between job experience and family work, with a focus on the spousal division of household labor and its relationship to parents’ well-being. In the final section, connections among family work, parent-child relationship, and well-being variables are proposed. My hypotheses will be further delineated with a discussion of the specific measures examined in this study.

A Historical Framework for Research on Work and the Family

In an analysis of work and family life, a historical perspective is important to understanding the development of research models. Our past as well as our present social and cultural contexts shape our knowledge, our questions, the hypotheses that we generate, and the ways that we interpret our data. And, amidst social change in parents’ work and family roles, it becomes essential to chart the prior conditions that contribute to current experience.

Researchers described the dramatic rise of dual-income parents in the 1970s as a revolutionary transformation in family life. But this was largely a middle-class phenomenon. Women of unmarried, minority, or working-class status had always sought paid employment, though they mainly worked in gender-segregated occupations as many women still do. Yet our ideology of traditional family life is rooted in the middle-class experience of the Victorian

Era (Coontz, 1992; Fowlkes, 1987; Lancaster & Lancaster, 1987; Skolnick, 1991). Sentimental Victorian images so keenly captured in novels and films such as *Life With Father* -- the paternal breadwinner, the maternal nurturer, the sheltered home -- continue to influence many contemporary definitions of the "ideal" family.

Although many women and men worked as shopkeepers and tavern owners in preindustrial America, the family was the principal economic unit. Most men performed the agricultural tasks whereas most women cared for the children and manufactured the articles necessary for daily life. Roles blurred at times when women worked in fields and men minded children (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984). During the Industrial Revolution of the 1820s, "separate spheres" came about for men and women as the location of paid work shifted from the farm to the workplace. Men gave up farming to labor in businesses and factories while women continued to work in the home and care for the children. Middle-class families adopted a dichotomous ideal: the workplace was instrumental, productive, and harsh; the home was expressive, spiritual, and a safe haven from the outside world. The differences between the home and workplace came to be perceived as differences between women and men (Skolnick, 1991).

This separation created lasting beliefs about the economic meaning of work by establishing an even more rigid gender division of labor than already existed. The mother's work in the home -- her management of the household, her care for the family, and her

education of the children -- was celebrated by the writers of the times as a moral obligation, not as an economic contribution (Acker, 1978). Domestic tasks and child care became mother's work, tenderly portrayed but financially devalued.

In the early half of the twentieth century, women's participation in the paid labor force was precipitated by historical upheaval (Bergmann, 1986; Coontz, 1992; Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984). During World War I, a greater number of women, mostly single, filled positions vacated by men, but this episode did not produce lasting changes in employment patterns. The Great Depression, too, saw an increase in the employment of married women as husbands suffered job loss or lower wages. After the times of crisis were over, employers laid off most women and gave hiring preference to men (Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984).

It was World War II that brought more mothers into the workplace than ever before. Coontz (1992) reported that state-sponsored care was provided for 1.5 million children of mothers working in defense industries. The federal government also campaigned to foster more positive attitudes toward women workers. After the war, the government terminated support for day care and encouraged women to devote themselves to family-centered tasks. Many women remained in the work force and their numbers slowly increased throughout the 1940s and 1950s. More families, however, embraced a renaissance of the idealized housewife role. Scarr and Weinberg (1986) commented: "Psychologists and

other professionals who dealt with families aided and abetted the national purpose, either by getting mothers into the war effort or by returning them to their homes so that veterans could take their jobs” (p. 1141).

Historically, advice that is sifted from empirical theory has reflected the *Zeitgeist*. Psychoanalysts wrote of the centrality of the mother-child relationship to healthy child development and they found a receptive audience in the baby-boom families of post-World War II America. Freudian psychology took on renewed popularity at this time (Skolnick, 1991). Freud was the first to define the emotional attachment to the mother as the paramount event of early infancy. Because the mother usually satisfies basic needs such as food and nurturance, she becomes the primary love object in the infant’s life. Freud stated that the mother’s importance is “unique, without parallel, established unalterably for a whole lifetime as the first and strongest love-object and as the prototype of all later love-relations” (1940/1964, p. 188). Subsequently, Spitz (1950) and Bowlby (1958) underscored the need for emotional security in infancy. After observing the cognitive and emotional deficits exhibited by institutionalized infants, both theorists concluded that a lack of continuous access to the mother leads to child pathology. Because employment outside the home entails the daily separation of mother and child, both initial and more recent research has centered on whether maternal employment disrupts normal child development.

Like his colleagues, Erikson (1968; 1959) stressed the importance of mothering rather than parenting. In Erikson's major legacy to developmental psychology, his work on identity, he argued that intimacy follows identity development in males, but tasks of identity and intimacy merge for females. This phenomenon prepares women to be the caretakers of the human race. A young man asks how he will spend his life; a young woman asks with whom she will spend it. For Erikson, it comes to the same thing:

Here, whatever sexual differences and dispositions have developed in earlier life become polarized with finality because they must become part of the whole process of production and procreation which marks adulthood ... the identity formation of women differs by dint of the fact that their somatic design harbors an 'inner space' destined to bear the offspring of chosen men ... (1959, pp. 265-266)

Reminiscent of the Victorian Era, post-World War II America was characterized by rigid male and female roles, an increase in the birth rate, and a strong economy that sustained single-income families (Coontz, 1992). As Friedan (1963) illustrated, however, many middle-class housewives were unhappy with a lack of diversity in their days. Lopata (1971) explained: "This is one of the few times in recorded history that the mother-child unit has been so isolated from adult assistance. Responsibility for health, welfare, the behavior and ability of the child is basically unshared" (p. 76). For men, anxiety centered on the "mindless conformity" to the workplace

portrayed in William Whyte's (1956) book, *The Organization Man*. With films such as *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, Hollywood depicted American men who were estranged from their families by the values and ambitions espoused by the work ethic.

The dogmatic rigidity of the 1950s clearly propelled the social conflict of the following decades (Bergmann, 1986; Diggins, 1988). Along with altered sociocultural norms, middle-class families of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed a remarkable and enduring change in daily life experience as more mothers worked outside the home. It was not just unmarried women or older mothers who accounted for most of the female work force as they had in the past, but it was married mothers of preschool children who sought paid employment in record numbers. What accounted for this change in attitude as well as behavior?

Hewlett (1991) points out that since the late 1970s, there has been a decline in the number of well-paid factory jobs that traditionally employed men. Wages, particularly male wages, have not kept pace with inflation. In 1988, the average family income was only six percent higher than in 1973, even though twice as many married women were working. Divorce and single parenting bring mothers into paid employment, but many married women also work to keep their families out of poverty.

Furthermore, women work for myriad reasons that include not only the apparent rewards of financial gain, but the sense of self-esteem and social contacts often provided by the workplace (Repetti,

Matthews, & Waldron, 1989). In contrast to past generations, family size is smaller and life expectancies are longer today, leaving much of adult life unoccupied by child rearing (Hoffman, 1989). Higher levels of education also lead women to expand their activities beyond the traditional family sphere. Full-time homemakers have become a minority today as over 61 percent of married mothers with children under six work outside the home (Dortch, 1996). The numbers are even greater for mothers of older children and adolescents (Lerner, 1994). Linked inextricably to a history of gender-divided spheres, however, expectations surrounding mothers' and fathers' paid work and family work responsibilities have failed to keep pace with a changing reality.

This historical context has guided the study of dual-earner parents and children's well-being; these studies will be later reviewed. In order to understand the data on parents' work in the context of optimal adolescent development, we turn first to a discussion of parent-adolescent relations.

Adolescents' Well-Being and Their Relationships with Parents

According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) framework, children experience and create day-to-day realities within interdependent systems. Microsystems, or the family environment, involve direct interactions between parents and children. Dyadic relations shift through nexus with other family members -- for example, a mother's relationship with her child may be affected by her husband's

participation in the care of that child. Beyond children's immediate experience, external systems, or exosystems, affect children indirectly through their connection to parents. The paid work environment, for example, may temper parents' moods and parents' moods, then, may temper parent-child interaction. Adolescents' well-being is thus influenced directly, through a source such as the parent-child relationship, or indirectly, through external influences on parental availability and well-being.

Researchers have argued that the process through which parents' well-being influences children's adjustment is through parenting behaviors (Belsky, 1984; Downey & Coyne, 1990; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Given these hypothesized links between parental well-being and children's adjustment, one might expect that the child with more emotionally healthy parents would experience better relations with them, and that more positive parent-child relations would have a salutary effect on the child's adjustment. At adolescence, the quality of the parent-child relationship -- and with the term relationship, I refer to overall warmth and connection between parents and children -- continues to predict adjustment.

Adolescent development. Adolescence is the second decade of life, beginning with puberty and ending with the transition to adulthood (Dornbusch, Petersen, & Hetherington, 1991). Over a century ago and beyond, there was little differentiation between adolescence and young adulthood as most youths engaged in early apprenticeships on farms and, later, in factories. In the second half

of the nineteenth century, however, compulsory education and laws against child labor contributed to a longer and more distinct developmental stage. Parents today assist their adolescent children through a prolonged period of maturation and preparation for adult roles.

Young adolescents, age 10 to 14, begin to experience a complex series of physiological, cognitive, emotional, and social changes. The hormonal and physical changes that occur during puberty influence how children perceive themselves and their relationships with others. For Piaget (1967), adolescence marks the onset of formal operations as higher systems of thought become more integrated and coordinated. Erikson (1959) described the pivotal task of adolescence as a resolution of the identity crisis, “a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group’s ideals” (p. 102). The educational environment alters with graduation to junior-high and high schools. Peers become increasingly important as contacts expand to heterosocial activities beyond the family and immediate neighborhood. Coinciding with these changes, adolescents move toward greater independence in their relationships with parents.

Parent-adolescent relations. In response to adolescent development, patterns of familial interaction change. While maintenance activities (e.g., grooming, feeding) characterize parents’ interactions with young children, reciprocal interactions (e.g., playing games, doing chores) characterize parents’ interactions with adolescents (Almeida & Galambos, 1994; McNally, Eisenberg, &

Harris, 1991). The younger child is dependent on parents for direction and care, but the balance begins to shift during early adolescence. Young adolescents experience more conflict with their parents during this transition between dependence and greater self-governance than at any other age period (Holmbeck & Hill, 1991; Laursen & Collins, 1994; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). Blos (1967) referred to adolescents' disengagement from parental control as "the second individuation process" (p. 162). More recent data suggest that healthy adolescent development is facilitated by opportunities to express individuality within a context of warm and responsive family relationships (Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995).

The parent-adolescent relationship does not dissolve, rather it evolves. Larson reported that from preadolescence through the high school years, teens became more selective about time spent with parents; they maintained one-on-one interaction, but decreased activities that involved less communication, such as watching TV (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996). For adolescents, the need for overall contact with parents thus diminishes, but the need for closeness with parents continues.

In accordance with the Larson study, Eccles and her colleagues (1993) stress the importance of a developmentally appropriate fit between adolescents' need for autonomy and the occasions for autonomy that they experience: "Although adolescents desire more freedom from adult control than children do, they do not want total freedom and do not want to be emotionally detached from their

parents. Instead, they desire a gradual increase in the opportunity for self-determination and participation in decision making and rule making" (p. 99). Adolescent well-being is thus fostered in emotionally supportive environments that also provide youths with greater options.

From this perspective, parents may best meet adolescents' needs by encouraging self-directed behaviors while maintaining supervision (Hamburg & Takanishi, 1996; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). An optimum level of parental scrutiny declines with the child's age, but adolescents continue to require attention and monitoring. As Grotevant and Cooper (1985) commented, "the significance of both individuality and connectedness are supported by evidence from a number of recent investigations that adolescent maturity is gained in the context of progressive and mutual redefinition of the parent-child relationship rather than by the adolescent simply leaving the relationship" (p. 425). Healthy development requires a mutual reshaping of family behaviors at adolescence as parents continue to exert influence over their adolescent children and adolescents influence their parents.

What do mothers and fathers bring to parent-adolescent experience? Collins and Russell (1991) reported that among two-parent families with older children and adolescents, mother-child relationships involved more frequent interaction, caregiving, and mundane tasks, whereas father-child relationships, especially father-son relationships, involved more play and other recreational and

instrumental activities. Interactions with father are characterized by more entertainment and less family work than interactions with mother. Yet Richards and her colleagues found that highly positive moods with father were associated with poorer mental health for both boys and girls whereas moderate mood levels with father predicted better mental health for boys (Richards, Duckett, Larson, & Dugdale, 1995). Fathers who engage exclusively in "upbeat" activities may be less sensitive to fostering positive adjustment in their adolescents than those fathers who also take part in day-to-day household activities. Mothers, on the other hand, tend to engage in a more varied spectrum of mundane as well as pleasurable activities with their children. In contrast to fathers, more positive moods with mother were associated with better adolescent mental health (Richards et al., 1995).

Through these day-to-day interactions -- conflict and socializing, chores and leisure -- parents and adolescents sustain and transform their relationships with one another (Larson et al., 1996). The content of interactions thus has some influence on the overall quality or emotional tone of the parent-adolescent relationship, and the parent-adolescent relationship influences adolescents' adjustment. It is widely reported that intimacy, warmth, and closeness with both mothers and fathers are directly related to social and emotional adjustment during adolescence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Paterson, Pryor, & Field, 1995; Peterson, 1988; Wentzel & Feldman, 1996).

At adolescence, then, the concern becomes how families achieve greater reciprocity in parent-child relations while continuing to maintain warmth, supervision, and support for the child's needs. The focus of this study -- influences within the family, such as household work, as well as those external to the family, such as parents' paid work -- may facilitate or hinder families in achieving these goals. Of all the issues associated with parents' work, paid and otherwise, those concerning the consequences for children have generated the most research and debate.

Does Family Earner Status Contribute to Children's Well-Being?

Early research paradigms implied that maternal employment was potentially harmful because the child needed constant contact with the ideal primary caretaker -- the mother (Silverstein, 1991). The father's role was virtually ignored. Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1982) observed: "For mothers, it was the fact of being employed that was presumed to be damaging to the child; for fathers, unemployment was seen as the destructive force" (p. 41). Researchers contended that the mother's work involvement was damaging because it caused her to deviate from her role as caretaker, thereby reducing her availability to the child. There was also the perception that the father's work involvement was unlikely to influence the child unless he ceased his function as economic provider.

From 1950 to the mid-1970s, most research on dual-income families focused primarily on the mother's employment *status* using what Bronfenbrenner (1979) has referred to as a social address model. All children of employed mothers were grouped together and compared to children of nonemployed mothers. The one clear message that emerged from this literature is that maternal employment, by itself, is neither inherently baneful nor beneficial. This is not surprising given that a host of individual and contextual factors are entangled in the nebulous maternal employment variable.

In response to comparisons of children by different family earner addresses, Lamb and his colleagues commented "Previous consideration of the effects of maternal employment ... addressed the question, Of what are children being deprived? ... It would be more fruitful to assess what the experiences of the children really are" (Lamb, Chase-Lansdale, & Owen, 1979, p. 272). Post-1980 studies have attempted to do just that by examining the family context as a link between maternal work and children's experience (A. E. Gottfried & A. W. Gottfried, 1988) as well as moderating variables that differentiate subgroups, the more important of which appear to be sex of the child, social class, and whether the mother works part time or full time (Hoffman, 1989). In harmony with changing societal attitudes about mothers' work, the research has also evolved and expanded.

Single-earner versus dual-earner families. Reviewers have noted that the pattern of relationships between family earner status

and children's adjustment sometimes differed by the child's gender (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Hoffman, 1987; Richards & Duckett, 1991). This was especially apparent in studies of sex typing. Because maternal employment represents a model of independence beyond the stereotypically-female domestic environment, a frequently studied issue has been whether sex-typed attitudes and behaviors vary between children of employed and nonemployed mothers. Most of this research showed that children with employed mothers value a more liberal gender-role ideology, and that the relationship is stronger for daughters than for sons (Richards & Duckett, 1991).

Galambos, Petersen, and Lerner (1988) found weak relations, however, between maternal work status and adolescent sex typing on a variety of measures. Although maternal employment predicted more egalitarian sex-role attitudes among sixth graders, this relationship disappeared when the same children reached eighth grade. The researchers came to two intriguing conclusions: Not only did the effect of maternal work status diminish as children grew older, it was not as strongly related to attitudes at any age as it had been in prior studies. In earlier decades, there may have been more of a vivid contrast between employed mothers and traditional homemaker mothers, thus producing a more powerful influence on the sex-role attitudes of their children. The critical point here is that as dual-earner families become normative, society changes, and thus research findings may shift as well.

Further data have revealed minimal direct influence of dual-earner status on the well-being of boys and girls when one considers the plethora of indices examined. Studies of maternal employment versus nonemployment have not revealed any effects on adolescents' socioemotional adjustment (Armistead, Wiersen, & Forehand, 1990; Lerner & Galambos, 1988), emotional stress (Bird & Kemeraite, 1990), or family activities and rules (Paulson, Koman, & Hill, 1990). Cross-sectional research has been confirmed by longitudinal evidence summarized by A. E. Gottfried and A. W. Gottfried (1988): "... across a broad spectrum of developmental domains and at ages ranging from infancy through adolescence ... there are no detrimental effects associated with maternal employment per se" (p. 270). Furthermore, the studies did not disclose any sleeper or long-term effects on subsequent development. The limited data on paternal employment likewise reveal that the small variations in fathers' work hours do not affect children unless work-related absences are prolonged (Barling, 1991).

Richards and Duckett (1994) found that day-to-day activities, companionship, and moods varied little among pre- and young adolescents in dual- and single-earner families. Young adolescent children of part-time employed mothers reported more positive self-esteem and daily affect than children of nonemployed mothers; children of full-time employed mothers did not differ from either group. Preadolescent boys, but not girls, with full-time employed mothers spent more time watching television and less time playing

sports than did sons of part-time employed or nonemployed mothers.

For boys living in middle-class, two-parent families, maternal employment has sometimes been associated with poorer cognitive performance (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982), though a number of studies have indicated no such relationship among adolescents (Armistead, Wierson, & Forehand, 1990; Crouter, MacDermid, McHale, & Perry-Jenkins, 1990; Lerner & Galambos, 1988; Paulson & Caldwell, 1993) or preschool and early school-age children (A. E. Gottfried, A. W. Gottfried, & Bathurst, 1988; Lerner & Galambos, 1988). Bogenschneider and Steinberg (1994) argued that poorly defined subgroups within samples may account for the inconsistency across studies. These researchers found that maternal employment predicted lower academic achievement particularly among boys from affluent families. Boys from upper middle-class and middle-class families reported lower high school grades if their mothers worked full time; preschool maternal employment also predicted lower grades for the upper middle-class boys. Among middle-class girls, full-time maternal employment only during the preschool years was associated with lower grades. Working-class boys did not differ by mothers' employment, but working-class girls earned higher grades when their mothers worked part time during the preschool and high school years. The process by which these relationships unfold remains unclear, although any impact is likely to be influenced by familial factors.

The family context. The family environment is probably the most critical variable mediating the impact of family earner status on older children and adolescents (Richards & Duckett, 1991). Family processes encompass a wide dimension of attitudes, behaviors, and interactions, including parental availability and involvement, the nature of parent-child relationships, and the family's emotional climate. Gottfried et al. (1988) point out that in order to study family earner status, one must observe its potential effects on the family environment; that is, family processes may serve as a connecting mechanism between parents' work and children's development.

To gain insight into how adolescents might be so influenced, it is important to establish how family processes affect younger children in various parental work contexts. Researchers have noted that when mothers return to work during the child's adolescence, the experience is usually a positive one for the family, and it presents the adolescent with developmentally appropriate opportunities for autonomy (e.g., Hoffman, 1987). But if researchers find that adolescents of consistently dual-earner families differ from adolescents of consistently single-earner families, there are two possible explanations: The differences revealed in studies of adolescents were also apparent when the children were younger, or the differences did not emerge until adolescence. In either case, unless the pattern of parental work changes during the teen years,

we look to the earlier circumstances in children's lives that may have shaped any differences perceived at adolescence.

There is evidence that for younger children, the quantity of parent-child interactions is more important to predicting achievement than family earner status. In a sample of first graders, Moorehouse (1991) found that when mothers and children shared frequent activities, increased maternal work was not associated with deficits in school competence. Increases in mothers' employment hours predicted lower school competence for children only when shared mother-child activities were infrequent. Mischel and Fuhr (1988) observed a similar link between maternal employment and paternal involvement among four-year-old boys. When fathers were active in child rearing, maternal employment was not related to sons' IQ scores. These variations in early parent-child contact may account for the relationship between maternal employment and lower achievement observed in some older children.

Among older children and adolescents, a considerable amount of research has focused on parental monitoring of children's activities in relation to achievement and adjustment. Individuals in both academic and public sectors have argued that dual-income parents are less available to monitor their children, but the data have not supported this belief. Although less parental monitoring has predicted lower achievement for boys (Crouter et al., 1990) and susceptibility to peer pressure for both boys and girls (Steinberg,

1986), these studies did not find a relationship between parental monitoring and family earner status.

Parental involvement in monitoring may vary during the school and summer seasons for families in different work contexts as indicated by Crouter and McHale (1993). Although all mothers monitored their preadolescent children more during the summer season, mothers who were not employed and employed mothers who reduced paid work hours in the summer months increased their monitoring more than did mothers who continued to be employed the same amount of hours. Among dual-earner families with continuously employed mothers, parents maintained a more egalitarian division of parenting activities. Furthermore, fathers in these families monitored their children more during the summer months whereas fathers whose wives reduced their summer work hours monitored their children less at this time. The study suggests that, in some families, fathers' day-to-day monitoring of their children varies as a function of seasonal fluctuations in their wives' employment.

Dual-earner parents' involvement with children may differ not only by season of the year but by time of the day as well. Although Montemayor (1984) found adolescents of full-time employed mothers spent less time with their parents, more recent data (Richards & Duckett, 1994) did not reveal any effect of family earner status on overall parent-child time, but did show variations by time of day. Children of part-time employed and full-time employed

mothers spent less time with parents during the after-school hours, from 3 to 6, than did children of nonemployed mothers. During weekday evenings, from 6:00 to 9:30, children of employed mothers spent more time with their parents than did children of nonemployed mothers. Although the children's bedtimes did not differ, those with employed parents enhanced their evening time together, suggesting the dual-earner family's capacity to compensate for diminished time with children in the afternoons.

Family earner status may have limited influence on children's experience of time with fathers and mothers. In numerous contexts, only greater feelings of friendliness and more time doing homework with mother were related to full-time maternal employment (Richards & Duckett, 1994). Mothers' employment status did not influence the type of activities that fathers did with their young adolescent children (Crouter & McHale, 1990), though dual-earner fathers spent more time alone with their children (Richards & Duckett, 1994). Crouter and Crowley (1990) have reported evidence of a differential family earner status effect for young adolescent boys and girls during time alone with fathers: Single-earner fathers engaged in more dyadic activities with their sons than with their daughters whereas dual-earner fathers spent more equal amounts of time in dyadic activities with children of both genders. Among families with two children, family earner status and the quality of the father-daughter relationship were linked indirectly as daughters

who reported more time in activities alone with their fathers felt closer to them.

Summary. Most studies find no direct or indirect relationships between family earner status and pre- and young adolescents' adjustment, activities, or experience with parents. The evidence on cognitive performance is mixed for middle-class boys, with some early and more recent reports of a link between maternal employment and lower academic achievement, and other indications of no relationship at all. This contradictory evidence may be due to variation in family process variables, particularly the frequency of parent-child interactions when children are younger. Among older children and adolescents, more time is spent with dual-earner parents during weekday evenings than afternoons, so that overall quantity of time with parents is not distinguished by family earner status. Dual-earner fathers may share more monitoring tasks with their wives and they may spend more equal amounts of time with daughters and sons than do single-earner fathers, but the content of their activities is not different. Indeed, the critical point here is how few relationships, either positive or negative, have been demonstrated. As Galambos and colleagues (1988) suggest, with the increasing occurrence of dual-earner families, we can expect a greater prevalence of null findings even among significant relationships that we have observed in the past.

Given this scarcity of significant effects, researchers have begun to explore the considerable variation within single-earner and dual-

earner families by analyzing the multiplicity of dimensions beyond the employment status variable. Lerner and Galambos (1988), for example, have demonstrated support for a "process of influence" model in which maternal role satisfaction predicts mother-child interaction that, in turn, predicts children's adjustment. The present research also examines the mediating influence of the quality of the mother-child relationship as a link between maternal well-being and adolescents' adjustment. Does the father-child relationship operate as a similar connection between paternal well-being and adolescents' adjustment? I will also consider whether the two major work contexts in parents' lives, paid and family work, contribute to parent-child relations, and thus indirectly influence children's well-being. Do the processes differ for women and men? To address these questions, we turn first to a discussion of paid work and parents' well-being.

Does Paid Work Contribute to Parents' Well-Being?

The vast majority of men hold a paid job; consequently male unemployment is viewed as a temporary, unwanted predicament. Although the nature of work and work involvement may influence men's health, we do not expect men to suffer by dint of their employment. The financial strain and loss of self-esteem created by unemployment, however, leads to irritability and stress in fathers: This situation contributes to more negative father-child interaction

that, in turn, predicts poorer child adjustment (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simons, 1994; Liem & Liem, 1988).

For mothers, our society generally perceives paid employment to be more voluntary than it is for men. And it is true that many women choose employment regardless of their family's financial status while others choose full-time homemaking. Yet the perception of choice regarding female employment is so great that even though many women contribute essential income to their families, we do not refer to female joblessness as *unemployment*, but *nonemployment*.

Research on parents and paid work has addressed three basic issues. First, studies have considered whether employment status directly affects women's health. Second, some researchers have suspected that multiple roles (spouse, parent, worker) put dual-earner families at greater risk for stress. Third, studies have examined the spillover of job-related experience to the home in relation to family well-being.

Employment status and women's mental health. Virtually all the studies of the concurrent relationship between employment status and mental health have revealed that both homemakers and employed wives experience more distress than their employed husbands (e.g., Barnett, Raudenbush, Brennan, Pleck, & Marshall, 1995; Greenberger & O'Neil, 1993; Rosenfield, 1989). But distinctions between homemaker women and employed women are more obscure. Some studies reported that employed women had better mental health than homemakers (Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Coleman,

Antonucci, & Adelman, 1987; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1988; Thoits, 1983; Verbrugge, 1987) whereas others obtained no differences (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987; Lennon, 1994; Parry, 1986; Waldron & Jacobs, 1988). There is mixed evidence that the type of work performed by employed women differentiates them from homemakers. Studies on women have demonstrated negative relationships between physical health and clerical positions (LaCroix & Haynes, 1987), and mental health and low-autonomy jobs (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1992), but others found no relationship to clerical work (Repetti et al., 1989), and still others indicated mental and physical health benefits even for those in low-level jobs (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). The most consistent support for a favorable effect of employment is found among women who would be expected to derive the greatest benefit from the social and monetary opportunities offered by the workplace, such as single women (Nathanson, 1980; Warr & Parry, 1982; Waldron & Jacobs, 1989), middle-aged women with grown children (Bromberger & Matthews, 1994), and women with positive attitudes toward paid work (Repetti et al., 1989).

The relationship between employment status and health is difficult to interpret. We may suspect that employment provides an additional source of stimulation and reward, thus enhancing women's well-being. It is equally plausible that healthier women are more likely to seek and maintain paid work. In a study of the effects of employment on the physical health of women and men, Ross and

Mirowsky (1995) demonstrated support for both hypotheses. Controlling for initial health states, full-time employment predicted less decline in perceived health and actual physical functioning relative to unemployment and homemaking over a two-year period. These effects did not differ by gender. In addition, healthier individuals were more likely to get and keep a full-time job. The researchers concluded that "full-time employment keeps healthy workers healthy" (p. 241).

Yet for married mothers with children at home, employment does not yield consistently positive effects, possibly because it produces a complex system of rewards and costs that structures their day-to-day experience. Larson and Richards (1994) found that while engaged in paid work, employed women experienced more positive moods than did employed men, and furthermore, women's moods were more positive at work than they were at home. But the emotional rewards of employment did not ultimately elevate the overall mood of employed women beyond that of homemakers, presumably due to what the researchers referred to as "the 6:00 crash." Upon arriving home, "... the employed women's emotional state tumbled ... the emotional state of employed men rose substantially around 6:00 P.M. when they came home to the family" (p. 66). As Hochschild and Machung (1989) reported, this is when the "second shift" begins for employed women who must get dinner on the table, see to their children, and otherwise care for their family's needs. We have "a stalled revolution," Hochschild argued,

because most women are employed, but neither the family nor the workplace has reformed in order to meet the competing demands of the multiple roles fulfilled by dual-earner parents.

Role strain in the dual-earner family. Of the mother's role, American novelist Tillie Olsen wrote:

More than in any other human relationship, overwhelmingly more, motherhood means being instantly interruptable, responsive, responsible. Children need one *now* (and remember, in our society, the family must often try to be the center for love and health the outside world is not). The very fact that these are real needs, that one feels them as one's own (love, not duty); *that there is no one else responsible for these needs*, gives them primacy (1978; p. 37).

In the past, men have been able to maintain both families and careers with the support of the full-time homemaker illustrated by Olsen; the woman who cared for the children, managed the household, and attended to social functions. Many jobs continue to be structured around this notion despite the influx of women into the labor force. Conflict between work and family roles arises from incompatible pressures that are caused by the simultaneous demands of job and family (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz, & Beutell, 1989). Although some workplaces have enhanced their benefit packages in order to help parents balance work and family responsibilities (e.g., General Mills, 1981), jobs in the United States do not typically offer adequate parental leaves,

assistance with child care and after-school programs, or flexible hours (Hewlett, 1991).

When married mothers and fathers are employed, they combine at least three major roles: spouse, parent, and paid worker. When one role interferes with participation in another role, the resulting feeling of conflict may lead to role strain: the subjective experience of life's role burdens (Verbrugge, 1987). Role strain commonly manifests itself through physical symptoms, such as fatigue and illness, and psychological symptoms, such as feeling "pulled apart," irritability, depression, and anxiety. The extent to which individuals feel strained by their roles depends on how well they are able to cope with them, not simply on the roles themselves. Although virtually all of the research on role strain focuses on employed parents, nonemployed women do not necessarily occupy only one role; many are both wives and mothers who also engage in volunteer work, adult education courses, and extended family care (e.g., A. E. Gottfried, A. W. Gottfried, & Bathurst, 1995).

Three theories have dominated the literature on role strain. The scarcity hypothesis (Goode, 1960) is focused on role quantity. It suggests that because human energy is fixed and limited, a greater number of roles consumes this energy, thus increasing the risk of stress and conflict. On the other hand, the role enhancement hypothesis argues that the greater opportunities for reward provided by multiple roles outweigh their potential stressors (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1990). The third hypothesis underscores the

importance of role quality rather than quantity, indicating that the nature of experience in roles is a more powerful predictor of strain than the sheer number of roles occupied. Evidence supports both the role enhancement and role quality hypotheses. The qualitative experience associated with roles predicts women's well-being (Baruch & Barnett, 1986) and occupation of both family and job roles may buffer the negative effects of poor experience in any single role (Barnett, Marshall, & Singer, 1992). The question, then, is not whether multiple roles cause strain but under what conditions can multiple roles lead to strain?

Because paid work and family work require incompatible obligations, dual-earner parents, particularly mothers, tend to experience role strain. Employed fathers as well as mothers report greater role strain than those who are not parents (Bohen & Viveros-Long, 1981; Hughes & Galinsky, 1988) and fathers report just as much anxiety about their young children as mothers do (Deater-Deckard, Scarr, McCartney, & Eisenberg, 1994). Although parents share similar levels of job and family concerns, Barnett and Rivers (1996) have observed that mothers *feel* more responsible for familial well-being: This sense of accountability may lead to greater role strain. The source of role strain for women thus tends to spring from family work-related concerns rather than paid work-related concerns (Anderson & Leslie, 1991; Barnett et al., 1995; Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Greenberger, Goldberg, Hamill, O'Neil, Payne, 1989;

Greenberger & O'Neil, 1993; Greenglass, Pantony, & Burke, 1989; Voydanoff, 1988).

Perhaps some of the most poignant evidence of role strain is derived from Hochschild's (1989) interviews with middle-class employed mothers, most of whom had one or two children. The author described the "speed up of work and family life": "Many women I could not tear away from the topic of sleep. They talked about how much they could 'get by on' ... These women talked about sleep the way a hungry person talks about food" (p. 9).

Not all dual-earner parents, however, experience role strain with the same intensity. Thoits (1987) suggested that role strain is largely the result of a lack of resources that facilitate role combination. It is not the number of roles that causes strain, but rather the degree to which successful role combination is inhibited. In accordance with this theory, employed women experienced less strain if their spouses approved of and supported their choices (Hirsch & Rapkin, 1986). Conversely, among dual-earner mothers and fathers of preschoolers, those who reported less spousal support, defined by instrumental and emotional support of the parenting and paid work roles, also reported greater role strain (Greenberger and O'Neil, 1993).

For women, the paid worker role has been found to be less predictive of role strain than the presence of children in the home, or the parent role (Barnett & Rivers, 1996). But for mothers of adolescents, employment may be a more positive experience than for

mothers of young children. Given adolescents' developing independence as well as their diminished need for routine care, mothers may have more free time to take on a paid job at this stage of the life cycle. Moreover, Hoffman (1979) has noted that with employment, "the mother is psychologically freer to encourage the [adolescent] child's independence and to communicate confidence in the child, and the child's independence is more compatible with the needs of the family" (p. 864). Autonomy granting is a particularly important component of parenting style during adolescence (Steinberg et al., 1994). Employment compels the mother to expand her role psychologically as well as physically beyond the home, a situation that is well-suited to the needs of adolescents and their mothers. For both mothers and fathers of young adolescents, a strong orientation to the paid work role has been associated with more positive mental health, greater life satisfaction, and fewer midlife concerns (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1990), particularly in families of sons (MacDermid & Crouter, 1995).

We may suspect that role strain is less intense among families with older children, but the juggling of family and work roles can become deleterious to parents and their children at any age. In dual-earner families, adolescents who experienced higher levels of family role strain reported greater emotional stress (Bird & Kemerait, 1990). Galambos and her colleagues have found that the effects of parents' role strain on adolescents operate indirectly through the quality of parent-child interactions (Galambos, Sears, Almeida, &

Kolaric, 1995). A possible indicator of role strain -- work overload -- predicted stress for both parents, stress predicted lower maternal acceptance of the child, and lower acceptance predicted more adolescent problem behavior. Regarding the father-adolescent relationship, stress did not lead to less acceptance but predicted more conflict; conflict then related to greater adolescent problem behavior. In Bronfenbrenner's (1986) framework, experience of the external work world affects parents, who, in turn, affect their children.

Job-related spillover. The discussion thus far has focused on global expressions of roles (i.e., employment status, role strain) and their relationship to family processes. We turn now to the influence of specific qualities of the work-related experience: the characteristics of work life and the day-to-day spillover of moods experienced at the workplace to family members.

The quality of work life is related to general well-being. Job quality, as defined by the rewards and concerns associated with paid work, predicted psychological distress for both men and women, most of whom were parents of school-age children (Barnett et al., 1995). Previous research indicating that work life is more important to men's mental health than to women's (e.g., Cleary & Mechanic, 1983) has not been supported. In fact, among professionally-employed parents of pre- and young adolescent children, Duxbury and Higgins (1991) found that quality of work life was related to

overall life satisfaction for women, but that quality of family life was related to life satisfaction for men.

Job satisfaction is not only important to the individual who holds the position, but also to that individual's spouse and children. Among fathers, job dissatisfaction contributed to greater behavioral problems in children (Barling, 1986), whereas a negative social climate at work predicted more hostile father-child relations (Repetti, 1994). Negative job characteristics, such as low flexibility and high demands, predicted marital tensions for both women and men (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). In a sample of predominantly female employees with children, burnout at work and job satisfaction were associated with spouses' reports of family problems in the expected directions (Zedeck, Maslach, Mosier, & Skitka, 1988).

In addition to overall evaluations of job satisfaction, the vicissitudes of the day-to-day benefits and pressures of work may shape subsequent patterns of family interactions and activities. Affective states after work have been related to White mothers' moods at home and satisfaction with family relations (Piotrkowski & Crits-Christoph, 1981), and to minority mothers' moods at home and daughters' perceptions of maternal availability (Piotrkowski & Katz, 1983). These studies suffer methodologically, however, because respondents were asked to indicate each mood state experienced over the previous two work days, permitting enough time to elapse between the event and the mood to distort recollection.

With data obtained at the end of each work day, Crouter and her colleagues found that intra-individual variations in men's mood states predicted subsequent involvement in family activities (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & Crawford, 1989). Young married men, about half of whom were fathers, responded to a questionnaire assessing their moods when they returned home from work. Telephone interviews were conducted with both spouses at the end of each day to obtain information on family-related behaviors. Men who reported higher stress and fatigue after work engaged in less subsequent housework and more negative interactions with wives. Low stress and high arousal, on the other hand, predicted more active leisure.

Consistent with the Crouter et al. study, Repetti's (1994, 1993, 1989) predominantly male sample of air traffic controllers provides further evidence of a connection between paid work and subsequent family experience. Repetti obtained objective measures of daily workload (i.e., air traffic volume and weather conditions), and subjective measures of daily stressors at work and experience at home that participants completed before going to sleep on three consecutive days. Both objective and subjective indicators of workload were related to more negative moods experienced after work (Repetti, 1993). On days when work overload and spousal support were high, the air traffic controllers engaged in fewer interactions with their spouses and expressed less anger toward them (Repetti, 1989). Spouses facilitated this withdrawal, thereby

providing quiet time for their partners' recovery from stress. Furthermore, the relationship between workload and withdrawal emerged in father-child relations as well (Repetti, 1994). On work overload days, fathers engaged in fewer activities with their school-aged children, disciplined them less often, and experienced less intense interactions with them. Unlike the Crouter et al. study (1989), these data show that high work demands predicted less subsequent conflict in the home because fathers were generally less emotionally involved in family-related interchange. Repetti (1989) proposed that the difference in results may have occurred because the Crouter et al. study did not distinguish between active expressions of negative interaction (e.g., anger) and passive expressions of withdrawal (e.g., disinterest) in their measure of negative interaction.

Among women and men, Bolger and his colleagues also found that variations in work stress were associated with family involvement at the end of the day (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, and Wethington, 1989). Respondents in this study included dual-earner husbands and wives at midlife with about two children. They completed daily diaries with measures of job and family stressors at the end of each day over a six-week period. In accordance with Repetti's findings, both women and men reduced subsequent involvement in housework on days of high job-related stress. Furthermore, when husbands experienced greater job stress, their

wives did more of the family work. Husbands, however, did not do more housework when their wives had a stressful paid work day.

All of these studies risk the possibility of distortion because measures of paid work moods were obtained after the work day. Other events occur between the workplace and home (e.g., traffic jams, social exchanges) that may influence one's recollection of previous mood states. Larson and Richards (1994) minimized this risk by using pagers to signal participants to record moods and activities throughout the day. The researchers found that men were likely to feel better upon arriving home than when they were last signaled at work and their moods gradually improved throughout the evening. As noted earlier, however, the employed mother's mood at work was uncorrelated with her subsequent mood at home: Regardless of her mood level at work, she experienced negative affect when she returned home. The researchers concluded that homelife functions as "an emotional antidote" to work stressors for men, but not for women (p. 43).

Summary. Like the literature on children's well-being, these data show few direct relationships between family earner status and parents' well-being. A common finding is that dual-earner parents have more time concerns than do single-earner parents. The paid worker role does not predict stress among mothers, but poor job experience and low spousal support do predict stress for both women and men. Wives appear to facilitate their husbands' recovery from stressful work days by providing them with respite from day-to-day

household cares, but husbands do not reciprocate. For mothers, employment can be beneficial, offering opportunities for more positive daily mood and, under some conditions, better overall mental health. On the other hand, the additional burden of the “second shift” may wash out any positive effects of employment on mothers.

The ability to successfully manage paid work and family tasks is thus more strongly related to well-being than employment per se. For parents, a key resource in this challenge takes the form of spousal support.

Does Family Work Contribute to Parents' Well-Being?

Researchers have assigned the term “family work” a wide range of meaning. Operational definitions of family work have included “emotion work” or the provision of emotional support to family members (Erickson, 1993), leisure activities with children (Barnett & Baruch, 1987), and household planning (Mederer, 1993) as well as cleaning, cooking, and child care tasks. Furthermore, some studies do not distinguish child care from the larger category of family work because it is difficult to determine whether a task is performed specifically for a child or the entire family.

This review focuses on studies that have examined one or more of the following three dimensions of family work: (a) housework (housecleaning, cooking, etc.), (b) child care (e.g., supervising, grooming), and (c) interactive parent-child activities.

The distribution of household labor. As LaRossa (1988)

observed, the culture of fatherhood (i.e., shared beliefs about what fathers should do) has changed more rapidly than the conduct of fatherhood (i.e., what fathers actually do). Despite the media attention given to "shared parenting," all of the data confirm that even when employed, mothers still do the bulk of the cooking, cleaning, and child care (e.g., Demo & Acock, 1993; Leslie, Anderson, & Branson, 1991; Menaghan & Parcel, 1990; Thompson & Walker, 1995). It is unlikely that employed mothers receive considerably greater help from older children either, for adolescents' time in chores does not differ by family earner status (Richards & Duckett, 1994).

Although wives clearly perform more family-related tasks than their husbands, there is some evidence that dual-earner spouses maintain a somewhat more equitable division of labor than single-earner spouses. In families with young or older children, dual-earner mothers allocate less time to housework than single-earner ones (Leslie & Anderson, 1988; Maret & Finlay, 1984; Pleck, 1983), though their time in child care does not vary by family earner status (Almeida, Maggs, & Galambos, 1993). Consequently, husbands' proportional share of family work tends to be greater when their wives are employed. In contrast to data obtained well over a decade ago (e.g., Berardo, Shehan, & Leslie, 1987; Douthitt, 1989; Rexroat & Shehan, 1987; Shelton, 1990), more recent data indicate that husbands with full-time employed wives spend somewhat more

actual time in family work than do husbands with nonemployed wives, particularly in the care of infants and young children (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Crouter & Crowley, 1990; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale, 1987; Darling-Fisher & Tiedje, 1990; Deutsch, Lussier, & Servis, 1993; Leslie & Anderson, 1988; Wille, 1995). Differences between dual-earner and single-earner fathers have not been obtained in families of older children, perhaps because there are fewer family work tasks to perform when children are older (Parke, 1995).

Within dual-earner families of preschool and school-age children, Petersen and Gerson (1992) found a positive relationship between increases over time in mothers' paid work hours and the degree to which fathers took on responsibility for child care arrangements. Fathers' time in this task did not increase when they worked fewer paid hours, however, suggesting that paternal involvement is more dependent on mothers' availability. Similarly, Crouter and McHale (1993) reported that dual-earner fathers' monitoring of children intensifies and diminishes in harmony with fluctuations in mothers' paid work time.

In one of the few studies to examine this topic among parents of adolescents, Almeida and his colleagues (1993) have also found that increases in mothers' employment hours correspond to modest increases in fathers' time in family work. When dual-earner wives did more hours of paid work, their husbands increased proportional and absolute hours of child care over a 6-month period, and they

increased their proportional hours of child care over a 1-year period. Husbands also spent more absolute time in household chores when wives worked more paid hours.

Barnett and Rivers (1996) have concluded that the distribution of labor between full-time employed husbands and wives is actually less unbalanced than illustrated in prior literature (e.g., Hochschild & Machung, 1989). Within a sample of middle-class, dual-earner couples, the gap between women and men diminished considerably when the researchers aggregated the time that each spouse devoted to both paid and unpaid work. Other studies have contradicted these findings, however, with reports that full-time employed women, especially mothers, spent more total time in paid and unpaid labor than did their husbands (see review in Demo & Acock, 1993).

Perhaps more important than a gender difference in time allocated to work is a gender difference in type of work. In the Barnett and Rivers study, men reported more paid work hours and traditionally "masculine" chores, such as home repairs. But women did more of the repetitive, "feminine" chores, such as housecleaning and child care, that were associated with low control and poor well-being. The problem may lie not so much in the sheer number of hours spent in work, but in the fact that the daily mundane tasks -- the majority of the family work tasks -- are usually performed by women.

Perspectives on fathers' participation. What circumstances distinguish fathers who engage in family work from those who do

not? The relative resource theory assumes an imbalance of power in the marital relationship: Because men typically have greater resources and income, they use that power to avoid housework (Spitze, 1988). Evidence in support of this theory is mixed. Researchers have found that husbands take on more family work when wives earn more money (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Bird, Bird, & Scruggs, 1984), but other studies have not found this connection (Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Brines, 1994; Kamo, 1988). The relationship may occur particularly when wives' relative contribution to the family income is higher (Deutsch et al., 1993; Hersch & Stratton, 1994; McHale & Crouter, 1992; Maret & Finlay, 1984; Ross, 1987; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983).

There is also speculation that couples' sex-role attitudes -- beliefs about gender-appropriate behaviors -- influence spousal division of labor, but contradictory findings have emerged here as well. Studies have reported that husbands' sex-role attitudes predict more family task sharing (Bird, Bird, & Scruggs, 1984; Deutsch et al., 1993; Kamo, 1988) whereas others have reported that wives' attitudes are more influential (Coltrane & Ishii-Kuntz, 1992; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989). Additional studies disclosed no such relationship (Crouter et al., 1987; McHale & Huston, 1984), suggesting that the posture to distribute family work more equitably does not necessarily translate into the reality.

Among dual-earner families, provider-role theory has more consistently explained variations in spousal division of household

labor (Hood, 1986; Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990). Couples who defined the husband as the primary economic provider, regardless of the wife's income, had a less egalitarian division of family work than couples who viewed themselves as coproviders: "... differences in attachment to the provider role lead to different definitions of what, objectively, is the same situation" (Hood, 1986, p. 355). As Spitze (1988) observed, "... the *perceived* responsibility for breadwinning affects the internal organization of the household, even when women are employed" (p. 611).

Beyond salary and attitudes, day-to-day participation in family work may vary by day-to-day experience of paid work. As discussed in the section on job spillover, studies of intra-individual patterns of family involvement have demonstrated that high job-related stress leads to less family interchange for men (Repetti, 1994) and less housework for both women and men (Bolger et al, 1989). In contrast to job stress, job absorption, or emotional involvement in paid work, has to do with the interest that people have in their work rather than the physical or mental tension that can be caused by it. Kanter (1977) argued that like stress, job-related absorption reduces the amount of time and attention that parents are able to devote to familial concerns and tasks. Although studies have focused almost exclusively on men, they have supported Kanter's theory with the conclusion that overall job absorption diminishes time for family-related activities (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Regarding family work, Crouter and Manke

(in press) reported that husbands with higher job absorption relative to their wives performed fewer traditionally feminine chores (e.g., meal preparation, cleaning, laundry) at home. In contrast, husbands and wives who both expressed high job absorption maintained only a slightly more equitable division of family labor.

Unlike mothers, fathers' time in household tasks is less likely to be dictated by immediate family needs. Men's contribution to family work is limited primarily to weekends when demands on employed parents decline (Douthitt, 1989). Larson and Richards (1994) found that fathers experienced greater feelings of choice while engaging in housework and child care than mothers did. Furthermore, men reported more positive affect not only during family work but also shortly before performing child care tasks, intimating that "they choose to take care of children only when they are in a sufficiently positive mood" (p. 40). Shaw (1988) also found that regardless of employment status, women construed household tasks more often as work than did men and they experienced more negative emotion while doing them.

Yet, compared to their husbands, women more often expect themselves to meet family needs regardless of personal moods or commitments outside the home. Prior data have suggested that women not only did more of the family work, they felt more responsible for it as well (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Leslie, Anderson, & Branson, 1991; Mederer, 1993). Both spouses have reported lower self-efficacy when the husband had to restructure his paid work

time in order to accommodate family needs, but wives' accommodation did not elicit negative feelings from either spouse (Brett & Yogev, 1988).

Women's tolerance of the lopsided division of family work has changed more slowly than their entry into the paid labor force. In a sample of professionally employed women, the majority reported satisfaction with husbands' involvement in child care and housework even though these tasks were inequitably distributed (Biernat & Wortman, 1991). Over the past decade or so, Thompson and Walker (1995) reported only a moderate increase in the number of wives who wanted their husbands to take on more responsibility for family work. Dissatisfaction with the family work distribution has increased, but the majority of families are satisfied with their arrangements.

What happens when men do more? Women's satisfaction with the division of family work does not translate into women's well-being. It is fathers' family task sharing that is clearly and positively related to mothers' level of depression (Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1996) and marital satisfaction (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Rosen, 1987). Among professional women who returned to full-time jobs after the birth of a first child, those who felt their husbands would assist with child care tasks had greater well-being and lower distress than those who felt they had to manage without their husbands' help (Ozer, 1995). Full-time employed mothers, who perceived their paid work role to be secondary to that of their husbands, performed nearly all

of the family work and reported greater depression and work overload relative to mothers who shared the paid and family work roles with their husbands (Perry-Jenkins, Seery, & Crouter, 1992). Among women whose husbands shared housework and child care, paid employment was related to enhanced self-esteem (Kessler & McRae, 1982) and less anxiety and depression (Steil & Turetsky, 1987). On the other hand, a combination of paid work stress and little spousal assistance with housework has been associated with more negative moods and marital tensions (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). Moreover, husbands' family work has predicted less depression in wives regardless of employment status (Ross & Mirowsky, 1988; Ross et al., 1983).

Because women tend to compare their workload to that of other women rather than their husbands, they do not see unfairness in their own family work arrangements (Thompson, 1991). But when husbands do more, wives think it is more fair. In samples of employed women (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Mederer, 1993), nonemployed women, and women with traditional and nontraditional sex-role attitudes (Blair & Johnson, 1992), greater participation in "feminine" chores (i.e., cooking, cleaning) on the part of husbands predicted greater perceived fairness of the family work distribution. Furthermore, dual-earner wives who perceived a more equitable division of housework reported less depression (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994).

In contrast, husbands' time in family work bears little relationship to their own psychological well-being (Pleck, 1985; Ross et al., 1983; Thompson & Walker, 1989). The cost of men's participation, however, may be greater marital conflict. Crouter et al. (1987) reported that dual-earner fathers' sharing of infant care predicted more negative marital interactions and less love for their wives two years into the marriage. In contrast, wives' employment hours were *positively* related to husbands' reports of love. The researchers concluded that husbands were not dissatisfied with their wives' paid work roles, but changes in family work roles appeared to generate marital conflict.

Increases in marital conflict are especially likely to occur when children require constant attention and family demands are high. We know little, however, about the influence of paternal participation in family work on members of the household when children are adolescents. In one study (Updegraff, McHale, & Crouter, 1996), more egalitarian family work arrangements, in which fathers and mothers participated equally in child-oriented activities, predicted a maintenance of high math and science performance for daughters from the fifth to seventh grade. Daughters from traditional families declined in math and science during the same period. The implication here is that girls' math and science grades tend to worsen during early adolescence, but fathers' involvement may encourage their daughters to excel in these traditionally "masculine" domains.

Almeida and Wethington (1995) examined fathers' day-to-day interactions with children about age 12. On days that fathers and children spent more time together, fathers reported more nurturing interactions with children, and, if fathers were in a negative mood, they reported more conflict with children. The study suggests that father-child interactions are not free of occasional discord, exacerbated by fathers' negative mood, but they also present the opportunity for warmth and nurturance.

On the day-to-day level, do parents' work moods influence involvement with family, and how does this involvement affect spouses? And is fathers' involvement in family work related to the overall quality of the parent-child relationship? The present study will address these questions.

Summary. Gender explains most of the variance in family work allocation, for both employed and nonemployed mothers perform more housework and child care than do their husbands. When dual-earner fathers take on more family work, two factors appear to contribute: coprovider role attitudes and reduced maternal availability. Husbands of employed mothers spend somewhat more time in child care when children are infants and preschoolers than do husbands of nonemployed mothers, but this difference is not evident when children are older. Within dual-earner families of older children, fathers do moderately more child care and chores in correspondence to increases in mothers' employment hours.

Although studies have focused primarily on fathers, there is some evidence that day-to-day paid work stress reduces subsequent participation in housework for both parents. Fathers' overall absorption in paid work has predicted less time in housework and family interchange. The day-to-day effect of employed fathers' and mothers' job absorption on family work is examined in the present study.

The majority of couples report satisfaction with their family work arrangements even though mothers perform most of these tasks. Notably, however, more equitable family work distribution is related to greater well-being among dual- and single-earner mothers.

Toward an Integrative Model.

Half a century of research on work and the family has occurred within a changing historical context. Mothers have increased their participation in paid work, but change within the family is incremental. As dual-earner families shift and recast their roles, new models are needed to focus on processes that tie parents' paid work and family work to the pathways through which these variables influence adolescents. The present study uses cross-sectional and longitudinal data from the Larson and Richards (1994) Family Study in an attempt to understand relations between parents' work and family well-being.

The Family Study. As discussed throughout this review, Larson and Richards (1994) obtained measures of the emotional states, activities, and companionship of married parents and their young adolescent children with a time-sampling approach. All three family members completed self-report forms when signaled by pagers at random times throughout consecutive days of one week. The advantage of the Experience Sampling Method (ESM: Larson, 1989) is that it provides a glimpse into immediate experience within the context of daily life. Although retrospective or laboratory measures may distort the actual quality and frequency of interactions reported by participants, the ESM reduces this problem. Events are recorded as they are experienced, thus enhancing the accuracy of the information.

As presented in the Introduction, Figures 1 and 2 portray the expected linkages among the constructs discussed in the literature review. Figures 3 and 4, discussed below, portray the expected linkages among the measured variables in this study. Previous analyses of the Larson and Richards Family Study data have not revealed any main effects of family earner status on the day-to-day emotional states of mothers, fathers, and their young adolescent children. The present study explores two dimensions of the context of family and paid work. First, average experience is addressed via linkages of fathers' family work to parent-adolescent relations and well-being among both single- and dual-earner families (Figure 3). Second, the antecedents and consequences of family work are

addressed via within-person linkages of employed parents' job spillover to subsequent involvement in family work, and involvement in family work to subsequent affect among spouses (Figure 4).

Although the hypotheses depicted in both Figures 3 and 4 are guided by theory, the correlational design of Figure 3 prevents directionality from being established. This diagram illustrates a series of predictors and outcomes, but the causal ordering of the variables is disputable. For example, one might argue that mothers' level of well-being enhances fathers' participation in family work rather than the reverse. Based on family systems theory, it is also plausible that all of the relationships are bi-directional rather than linear (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The diagram in Figure 4 illustrates sequential relationships, thus permitting us to determine the direction of influence among the variables. There is always the potential, however, that an unmeasured variable has caused the observed relationships. The arrows in each of the figures thus do not indicate causal relations. Directional arrows in path diagrams are typically used to depict correlational relationships and, as in this study, they frequently are not meant to indicate analysis of causal direction (Hoyle, 1995).

Predicted Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work to Parent-Adolescent Relations and Well-Being

In the previous sections of this review, I have noted that fathers' participation in family work predicts mothers' well-being, and that the quality of the parent-child relationship predicts children's well-being. I turn now to how these elements may fit together as a whole. When the father supports the mother by participating in family work, what then happens within the family? We know that greater family involvement on the part of fathers opens the door to increased opportunities for positive interactions (Almeida & Wethington, 1995) as well as negative ones (Almeida & Wethington, 1995; Crouter et al., 1987). The literature fails to provide an adequate description, however, of how fathers' time in family work might be indirectly related to the *overall quality* of parent-child relations. In particular, we need to know how family members influence one another: How does fathers' involvement influence mothers' well-being, and how does mothers' well-being influence the quality of mother-child relations? How does fathers' involvement influence the quality of father-child relations?

Figure 3 depicts the expected linkages among fathers' provider-role attitudes and family work (i.e., reported by fathers), mothers' affect (reported by mothers), warmth toward mothers and fathers (reported by adolescents), and adolescents' affect, self-esteem, and depression (i.e., emotional well-being, reported by adolescents). Many prior studies have focused on one aspect of family work,

usually household chores, or combined all family-related tasks into one measure. In contrast, three independent dimensions of family work are explored here -- chores, child care, and interaction between parents and the target adolescents.

A significant, positive relationship is expected between fathers' provider-role attitudes and fathers' time in family work (e.g., Hood, 1986: the more egalitarian the attitudes, the higher the percentage of time that father will spend in family work). Family earner status is not expected to directly influence fathers' provider-role attitudes (e.g., Spitze, 1988) or fathers' percentage of time in family work (e.g., Thompson & Walker, 1995), children's warmth toward mothers, or mothers' and adolescents' emotional well-being (e.g., Richards & Duckett, 1991); thus the family earner status variable does not appear in the diagram. In light of prior research, it is possible, however, that provider-role attitudes are more salient to fathers' time in family work in dual-earner families given that single-earner fathers are by definition the main providers (Perry-Jenkins et al., 1992). The potential interaction of family earner status by fathers' provider-role attitudes on fathers' time in family work will thus be tested. For example, dual-earner fathers with more egalitarian attitudes may spend more time doing family work than dual-earner fathers with main provider-role attitudes or single-earner fathers.

Fathers' time in family work is expected to predict mothers' daily affect (e.g., Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1996). Although I do not expect family earner status to moderate this relationship (e.g., Ross &

Mirowsky, 1988), the interaction term will be tested in preliminary analyses, to show that fathers' time in family work is as strongly related to the affect of dual-earner mothers as that of single-earner mothers.

Mothers' daily affect will relate positively to the quality of the mother-child relationship, as evidenced by adolescents' feelings of warmth toward mother, that will, in turn, positively relate to adolescents' affect, self-esteem, and depression (e.g., Downey & Coyne, 1990). A relationship is also expected between mothers' affect and adolescents' emotional well-being, and adolescent-to-mother warmth will mediate this relationship (e.g., Lerner & Galambos, 1988).

As shown in Figure 3, the measures of adolescent-to-mother warmth and adolescent-to-father warmth are expected to correlate, but they will be initially examined in separate analyses to determine the differential relationship of these variables to fathers' time in family work. In contrast to mothers, fathers' time in family work is not expected to influence fathers' affect (e.g., Thompson & Walker, 1989). Interaction terms of family earner status by fathers' family work will be examined to show that the lack of relationship is consistent among both dual-earner and single-earner fathers.

We have little data on children's feelings toward fathers who participate in family work. Fathers' engagement in family work, particularly child care and interaction with adolescents, may provide greater opportunity for paternal nurturance (e.g., Almeida &

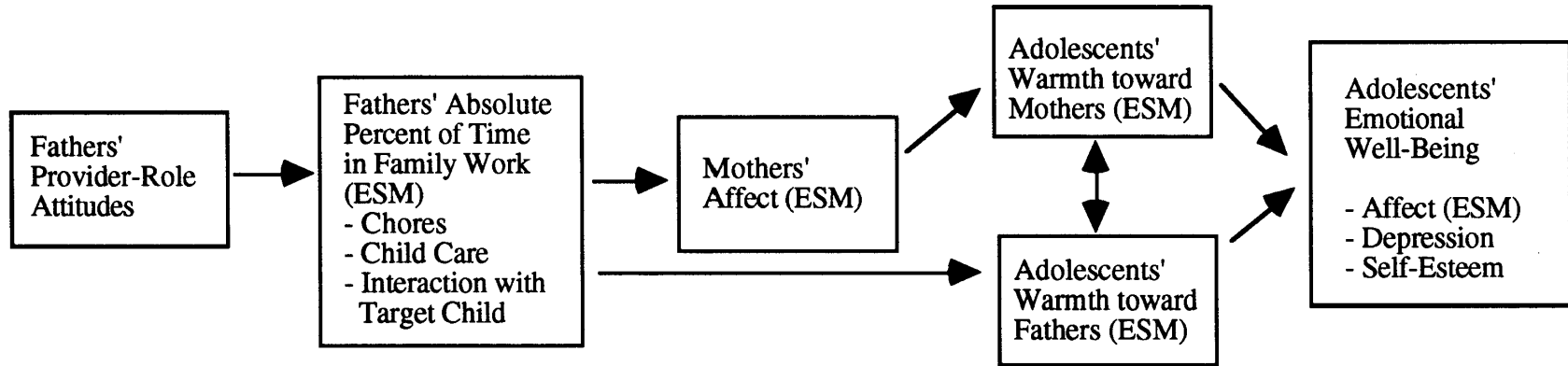
Wethington, 1995). More nurturing interactions, in the form of day-to-day family care, may positively influence the father-child relationship. A positive relationship is therefore expected between fathers' percentage of time in family work and adolescents' warmth toward fathers (reported by adolescents). Like warmth toward mothers, adolescents' warmth toward fathers will relate positively to adolescents' affect, self-esteem, and depression.

Predicted Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work and Parent-Adolescent Relations to Adolescent Well-Being Over Time: Longitudinal Analysis

I will also examine longitudinal data on self-esteem and depression that the adolescents completed two years after the original study (Time 2) to explore the relationships of fathers' time in family work, mothers' affect, and warmth toward parents to potential change in adolescent well-being over time. In keeping with the hypotheses of concurrent relationships, warmth toward mothers and warmth toward fathers at Time 1 are expected to predict more positive levels of adolescents' depression and self-esteem at Time 2.

Figure 3

Predicted linkages of fathers' family work to parent-adolescent relations and well-being: The observed variables.



Note. All relationships are expected to be positive with the exception of a negative relationship between adolescents' warmth toward parents and adolescents' depression. The relationship of fathers' time in family work, mothers' affect, and warmth toward parents to potential change in adolescent well-being over time will be tested with longitudinal data on depression and self-esteem collected two years after initial participation.

Predicted Linkages of Job Spillover to Subsequent Experience with Family

We turn now to the antecedents and consequences of post-job involvement in family work. Intra-individual variations in *employed* parents' experience of day-to-day paid work are expected to predict subsequent experience with family members. This type of within-person analysis may shed understanding on spillover from work to family.

Although job-related stress contributes to fathers' participation in family activities (e.g., Repetti, 1994), we have less information on Kanter's (1977) concept of job-related absorption (i.e., emotional involvement in paid work). On days of high job absorption, do parents participate in less family work? Furthermore, does one spouse's engagement in family work influence the other spouse's affect?

As noted in Figure 4, each of the predicted relationships will be tested separately for mothers and fathers. For fathers, reports of high absorption during paid work will negatively influence whether or not they engage in subsequent family work (e.g., Crouter & Manke, in press). Fathers' engagement in family work will positively influence mothers' subsequent affect (e.g., Hughes & Galinsky, 1994).

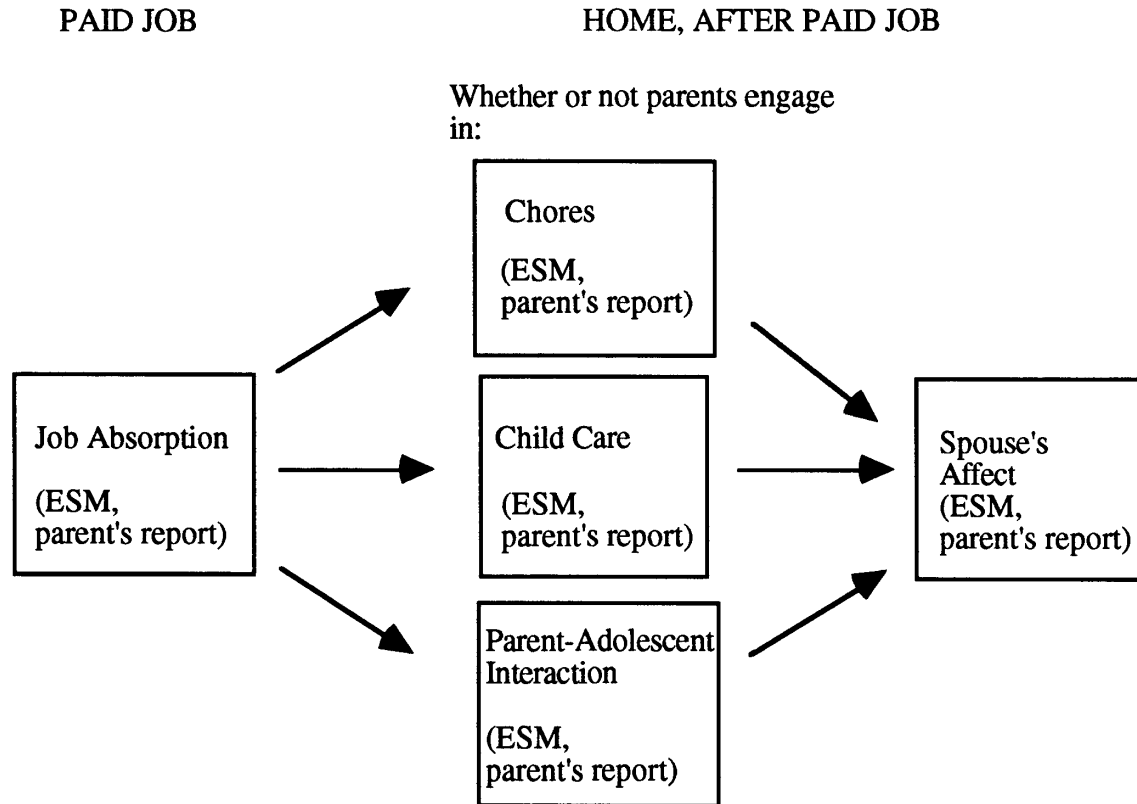
The limited data on spillover among employed mothers suggests that their job moods also influence subsequent behaviors at home (Bolger et al., 1989). Therefore I predict that employed mothers' reports of high absorption at paid work will also reduce their

subsequent involvement in family work, but given the lack of choice that women experience during household chores and child care (Larson & Richards, 1994), this relationship will be weaker than that for fathers. Mothers' engagement in family work is also expected to positively influence fathers' subsequent affect.

The ESM provides particularly useful data here because the parent's mood is recorded during the job, rather than recollected afterwards at home, thus minimizing potential interference from extraneous sources. A sequential design also strengthens this analysis. Because the parent's job absorption is evaluated for its relationship to post-job experience, it may be argued that absorption influences subsequent behaviors rather than the reverse hypothesis. Similarly, one spouse's affect will be assessed after the other spouse engages in family work. Of course, as in all field research, there is always the possibility that an unmeasured variable has influenced the outcome.

Figure 4

Predicted linkages of job spillover to subsequent experience with family: The observed variables.



Note: The relationship between job absorption and family work is expected to be negative, whereas the relationship between family work and the spouse's affect is expected to be positive.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Overview of the Sample and Design

Fifty-three sets of participants, consisting of a married mother and father and their young adolescent child, formed the sample of this study. ESM and questionnaire data were collected from mothers, fathers, and adolescents at Time 1. Questionnaire measures, including self-esteem and depression, were collected from adolescents at Time 2, two years after the original study took place.

The families were recruited from a study of 483 randomly selected fifth through ninth graders (see Larson, 1989, for a detailed description of the larger study of adolescents). The sample selection of this larger study was stratified to obtain a balanced representation of sex, grade, community, and season. Larson (1989) described this sample as representative of the communities from which it was selected.

During the last quarter of Time 1 data collection for the larger study, we asked the adolescent participants if we could invite their parents to also take part. If adolescents were interested, letters describing the study were sent home to parents. We then phoned parents to solicit their participation. Forty-five percent of the invited families agreed to participate and completed the study.

The present study is thus based on a sample of 53 mother-father-adolescent triads who were obtained through the larger study (see also Larson & Richards, 1994; Larson, Richards, & Perry-Jenkins, 1994). As unemployment may influence fathers' patterns of family work involvement (Brines, 1994), two unemployed fathers were excluded from the original sample of 55 families. The characteristics of the present sample -- the Family Study sample -- are next discussed.

The Family Study Sample

The 53 participants resided in two working- and middle-class suburbs of a large city located in the Midwest. Families were of European and Eastern European ethnicity. In 29 of the families, the target child was a girl, and in 24 of the families, the target child was a boy. At the initial data collection, the children were in grades five through eight, age 10 to 14 ($M = 12.2$, $SD = 1.4$). Mothers' ages ranged from 29 to 52 ($M = 38.3$, $SD = 4.6$); fathers' ages ranged from 29 to 53 ($M = 39.3$, $SD = 5.2$). Larson and Richards (1994) reported that the median family size was 4, with a range of 1 to 10 children living in the household. Eight of the families had preschool children ranging in age from early infancy to 5 years.

Ninety-six percent of the mothers completed high school and 22 percent completed college. All but one father completed high school and 38 percent completed college. Ratings of occupational status were based on the income, education, and prestige attributes of job

descriptions provided by each parent (Featherman & Stevens, 1982). As Larson and Richards reported, the fathers had a mean occupational status of 44.8 ($SD = 21.4$), a rating similar to other suburban samples. About half of the fathers had professional or managerial jobs, the other half had blue-collar, technical, or sales jobs. Mothers' occupations had a mean rating of 43.0 ($SD = 16.0$). Mothers and fathers did not differ in occupational ratings, but mothers had a more limited range of scores. They were less likely to hold either low-status or high-status jobs than were their husbands. Mothers generally worked in sales, clerical, lower-level management, nursing, or teaching occupations.

Thirty-four couples or 64 percent of the sample had dual-earner status, a proportion comparable to the national average for families with older children and adolescents (Lerner, 1994). Nineteen of the mothers did not engage in paid work, 21 worked part time (10 to 34 hours a week), and 13 worked full time (35 to 60 hours per week). The demographic characteristics of the sample did not differ by family earner status: "Using a liberal p -value of .10, family size, age of youngest child, educational levels of father and mother, and Featherman-Stevens ratings of fathers' jobs all did not differ significantly across the maternal employment groups. The one exception is that women who worked full-time had higher-status jobs than those who worked part-time" (Larson & Richards, 1994, p. 267).

According to Larson and Richards (1994), the Family Study sample did not differ significantly from families in the larger study in family cohesion and conflict, parents' socioeconomic status, fathers' educational level, mothers' and fathers' role satisfaction, and children's sex, age, grade, and level of depression and self-esteem. In contrast to the larger study, however, the Family Study sample included mothers who were somewhat more educated and less likely to be employed full time, and children who reported slightly higher mood levels.

Procedure

Each family began the study in their home with a 45-minute training session during which a staff member explained the procedures of the ESM. The three family members each received a pager that could be set for either beeping or vibrating signals and a booklet of self-report forms. We instructed them to complete one self-report form in response to each signal. Responses to the items were to reflect what they were doing and feeling "just before they were signaled." Each booklet contained stickers so that family members could seal pages together to protect the privacy of their responses. During the training sessions, families filled out practice pages to insure their understanding of the method.

The families were paged for consecutive days of one week. Eight signals were sent randomly each day between 7:30 AM and 9:30 PM. Signals were simultaneous so that all family members received their

signals at the same times. The days were divided into eight blocks of two hours and one signal was randomly assigned to each block of time, providing a total of 56 signals for the week. Families were strongly encouraged to respond to as many signals as possible, but they were also told that they could turn the pager off if they wanted to sleep. We instructed adolescents to use the vibrating signal on the pager during school hours so they would not disrupt their classes.

At the end of the week of paging, a staff member returned to each family member's home to collect materials, administer questionnaires, and interview each family member separately about his or her week.

Questionnaire Measures

Demographic information. Parents provided demographic information on a questionnaire that they completed in their homes. The number of hours that parents worked per week was obtained from responses to the questions, "Are you currently employed?" and "How many hours per week are you employed outside the home?" Additional demographic items included parents' educational level and occupational descriptions, and number and ages of family members living in the household.

Adolescents' self-esteem. The Rosenberg (1965) Self-Esteem Questionnaire, a ten-item Guttman scale, provided a measure of adolescents' self-esteem. Rosenberg reports the coefficient of reproducibility at .92 and the test-retest reliability for a two-week

period at .85. Adequate internal consistency was demonstrated with the present sample ($\alpha = .85$).

Adolescents' depression. The Children's Depression Inventory (CDI: Kovacs, 1985) is a standardized, 27-item self-report scale which measures symptoms of depression in children aged 8 to 17 years. The CDI has demonstrated adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = .71$ to $.87$) and test-retest reliability ($r = .72$ to $.87$) in samples of clinical outpatient children and public school children. Adequate internal consistency was also demonstrated with the present sample ($\alpha = .83$). The CDI has also significantly correlated with measures of anxiety ($r = .65$) and self-esteem ($r = -.72$).

Fathers' provider-role attitudes. A 6-item questionnaire adapted from a division of labor scale (Gold & Andres, 1978) provided a measure of fathers' provider-role attitudes (Appendix A). On a scale ranging from 1 to 5, fathers rated their level of agreement with a series of 6 statements regarding perceptions of spousal responsibility for family income and domestic tasks. Responses to the items were averaged so that each father has one provider-role score ($\alpha = .72$). Items were coded so that higher values indicated more egalitarian or "coprovider-oriented" attitudes.

ESM Measures

The ESM provided information on participants' activities, companionship, and subjective states (Appendices B and C). The ESM

form includes questions about objective situations, e.g., "What were you doing?" and "Who were you with?" as well as items about subjective states, e.g., measures of affect and warmth toward family members. Larson (1989) has provided a thorough discussion of the reliability and validity of the ESM measures.

The advantages of the ESM are that it avoids problems associated with an intrusive observer, it is not dependent on accuracy of long-term recall, and it offers a multifarious picture of how daily life is experienced. The novelty of this procedure, however, may have a disruptive effect on the participants. Larson (1989) and Larson and Richards (1994) discuss several means of evaluating potential effects of the paging. One method is to examine shifts in experience over the course of the study. If the study influences participants' moods and activities, these effects are likely to be present at the beginning of the week and might wear off as responding to the random signals becomes less of a novelty. Larson and Richards (1994) reported that the average mood states experienced in the first half of the week were significantly correlated with those experienced in the second half of the week, suggesting minimal novelty effects. Percentages of time spent with family, friends, and alone were also correlated between the first and second halves of the week. In addition, most parents and children stated that the family's week was "not at all" different because of the study. Larson and Richards maintain that the ESM may have a small effect on participants' data, but it is unlikely to cause significant disruption.

Of the signals sent, the adolescents responded to a median of 85 percent, fathers responded to 82 percent, and mothers responded to 86 percent. Because 6 percent of the signals sent were not received due to pager malfunction (Larson, 1989), participants responded to about 90 percent of the signals they actually received. Lack of response to signals occurred mainly during sleep (31%), paid work (19%), schoolwork (14%) and sports (12%) (Larson & Richards, 1994).

Family study participants provided a total of 7,073 self-reports. To address the overall relationship of fathers' time in family work to parent-adolescent relations and well-being, the ESM data were aggregated. Here, the person was the unit of analysis. To address the spillover effects of job absorption to family experience, within-person analyses were computed. Here, the self-report was the unit of analysis. These methods of analyzing the data are discussed in greater detail in the Results section.

The following ESM variables tested expected relationships.

Affect. Daily affect was computed from an average of three semantic-differential scales on the dimensions "happy-unhappy," "cheerful-irritable," and "friendly-angry." Scale values ranged from 1 to 7 with higher values indicating more positive affect (for mothers, $\alpha = .87$; for fathers, $\alpha = .89$; for adolescents, $\alpha = .91$).

As Larson and Richards reported, the affect measure demonstrates construct validity and reliability over time. Ratings of

affect at the first half of the week were significantly correlated with those at the second half (for mothers, $r = .60$; for fathers, $r = .69$; for adolescents, $r = .71$). Significant correlations in the expected directions were also found between adolescents' average affect and depression, self-esteem, internalizing symptoms, and teachers' ratings of adolescents' mood levels, suggesting concurrent validity with other scales that quantify constructs relevant to emotional well-being. Likewise, parents' affect correlated with their measures of self-esteem and depression. For both adolescents and parents, affect was significantly related to indicators of well-being measured two years later.

Adolescents' warmth toward parents. The overall warmth that adolescents felt toward their parents was examined with an average of three, 7-point semantic-differential scales from the adolescent's self-report form on the dimensions "close to-distant from," "friendly toward-angry with," and "relaxed with-tense toward" (for warmth toward mothers, $\alpha = .94$; for warmth toward fathers, $\alpha = .95$).

Percent of time in family work. Responses to the open-ended question "What were you doing?" determined activity. Each response was coded into 110 mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories. Inter-rater reliability was maintained at over 94 percent.

Family work was defined by three independent categories based on the parent's subjective record; that is, the percentage of actual time in the parent's open-ended report of his or her daily activities: (a) traditionally "feminine" household chores that tend to be

performed daily (i.e., making beds, house cleaning, food preparation, dishes, laundry; see Crouter & Manke, in press), (b) care-taking tasks specifically performed for the target child and/or siblings (e.g., grooming, dressing, supervising, assisting, driving a child to school), (c) interaction with the target adolescent (i.e., talking, sports, games, and club activities [e.g., Scouts] with the target adolescent child). Thus chores included daily household work. Child care included maintenance or supervisory tasks that involved not only target adolescents but their siblings as well. Interaction with the target adolescent included only interactive leisure that directly involved the target child.

Absorption during paid work. The experience of job-related absorption was examined with the averaged responses to four 10-point questions (for mothers, $\alpha = .75$; for fathers, $\alpha = .70$). These items concerned the level of involvement in the activity that parents were doing just before the pager signaled them. The four questions were: (a) "How much choice did you have about doing this activity?" (b) "Do you wish you had been doing something else?" (reversed item) (c) "How well were you paying attention?" (d) "How skilled are you at this activity?" For both mothers and fathers, the absorption variable correlated significantly with feeling alert and strong, but did not correlate with affect or distress.

In order to focus on job-related experience, the absorption variable was computed after selecting those self-reports in which fathers and mothers indicated that they were engaged in paid work.

Participants' overall experience of absorption was expected to correlate with feelings of job-related absorption. For example, an individual who felt generally absorbed in his or her activities would tend to report high absorption during paid work. The absorption value would reflect the response tendency rather than the experience of the job. Thus parents' overall absorption was used as a control in the analysis of job absorption (see Larson & Delespaul, 1992).

Longitudinal Sample. Procedure. and Measures.

Two years after the original data collection, we mailed questionnaires, including self-esteem and depression measures, to the adolescents' homes. The self-esteem measure did not differ from that used in Time 1 of the study. The depression measure, however, consisted of the shorter, 14-item version of the Kovacs (1985) scale.

The adolescents were instructed to complete these questionnaires and return them to us in stamped, addressed envelopes that were provided. Forty-three (81 percent) of the initial participants included in the present study completed the Time 2 phase. Reasons for attrition included: (a) the child's refusal or failure to obtain parents' permission, and (b) the family moved and we were unable to locate them.

In order to uncover potential attrition biases in the longitudinal sample, analyses of variance and chi-squares were computed on data provided at Time 1 by two groups: adolescents who participated at

both Times 1 and 2 versus adolescents who participated at Time 1 only. Attrition was not related to adolescents' gender or grade, or level of affect, self-esteem, depression, or warmth toward either parent. In addition, parents' socioeconomic status, hours of employment, and percentage of time in family work, and mothers' level of affect did not vary by adolescents' participation. Fathers' level of affect, however, was related to attrition: Adolescents who participated at both phases of the study had fathers who reported more positive mean affect than did adolescents who participated only at Time 1 (4.99 versus 4.46).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work to Parent-Adolescent Relations and Well-Being

Preliminary correlations were initially computed to evaluate all possible bivariate relationships among the variables for families with sons and daughters separately. The pattern of these findings did not differ by gender, thus I combined all of the families for subsequent analysis.

As family work is a principal focus of this study, I next examined differences in the total amount of time that parents' spent in these tasks. In light of prior research, it was not surprising that mothers spent more time engaged in family work than did fathers: a weekly total of about 16 hours for mothers versus about 5 hours for fathers.¹ Most of this discrepancy was due to time in household chores. Mothers spent nine times the amount of hours that fathers did in feminine chores, and roughly twice as much time in child care and parent-adolescent interaction. Mothers' time in chores and parent-adolescent interaction was not significantly correlated with fathers' time in these activities. Mothers' time in child care,

¹ One percent equals about one hour per week. For example, 16 percent of mothers' time approximates 16 hours per week in family work (see Larson & Richards, 1994).

however, was positively correlated with fathers' time in child care, $r = .37$, $p < .01$.

Mothers with three or more children spent more time in chores and less time in interaction with adolescents than mothers with one or two children. Family size was also related to fathers' time in child care, but not to time in chores or interaction with adolescents. Fathers, but not mothers, with one or two children spent less time in child care than fathers with three or more children: 1.4 percent versus 3.6 percent, $F(1, 52) = 5.66$, $p < .05$.

Earners status predicted time in family work only among mothers. Relative to nonemployed mothers, employed mothers spent about five fewer hours per week in family work. Dual-earner fathers spent only about 16 more minutes per week in family work than did single-earner fathers (mean percentages of 5.08 versus 4.81); this difference was not significant.

Plan of analysis of the hypotheses. To examine the overall relationship of fathers' participation in family work to parent-adolescent relations and well-being, aggregated values of each ESM variable were computed. Thus each participant received one value for each variable examined regardless of the number of self-reports that he or she completed. As the person was the unit of analysis, the sample size was 53. Aggregated means of affect were computed from each parent's and adolescent's self-reports, and aggregated means of the warmth-to-parent variables were computed from each

adolescent's self-reports. Aggregated percentages in each of the three family work categories were computed from each father's self-reports. Percentages of fathers' time in chores and interaction with the target adolescent were positively skewed; thus analysis of these variables was based on the square root transformation.

Because the sample size was too small to test the variables in each set of hypotheses within a single path model, I took a model-building rather than a model-testing approach to the data (see Howes, Phillips, & Whitebook, 1992). A strength of this study is its inclusion of multiple constructs and measures. To test the full models shown in Figure 3, however, would have reduced the number of cases per measured variable well below acceptable levels. The study's small sample size necessitates a number of preliminary analyses to determine the best set of predictors. Correlations were initially performed to demonstrate the strength of each bivariate linkage. Next, the potential moderating effects of family earner status on fathers' time in family work and mothers' affect were tested with hierarchical multiple regressions. As a final step in the model-building procedure, I used simple path analysis to evaluate the direct and mediating relationships among the variables that yielded significance in the correlation and regression analyses. Although one may also test these relationships through a series of multiple regressions, an advantage of the path model is that it defines the strength of both direct and mediating relationships in a single analysis, thus providing a parsimonious tool for explaining the

data (Hoyle, 1995). The basic model-building strategy, then, included correlations to evaluate the bivariate linkages between variables, hierarchical multiple regressions to test for the possible moderating effects of family earner status, and simple path analysis to examine the significant predictors within comprehensive models.

The significant results obtained from the model-building analyses suggested some promise for a more formal test of the theoretical model (Figures 1 and 3). A final path analysis was thus computed to obtain a goodness-of-fit estimate of the predicted relationships.

Model-building analyses. Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations among the variables representing fathers' provider-role attitudes and family work, parent-adolescent relations, and emotional well-being. The categories of fathers' family work -- chores, child care, and interaction between fathers and the target adolescents -- were uncorrelated, thus eliminating the potential problem of multicollinearity among these variables. The measures of warmth toward parents, however, were highly correlated ($r = .67$). As discussed earlier, these measures will not be examined as a single construct because fathers' time in family work is expected to predict warmth toward fathers, but not warmth toward mothers. Thus the model-building analyses tested the predicted relationships to warmth toward mothers and fathers separately.

TABLE 1

FATHERS' FAMILY WORK, PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONS, AND WELL-BEING:
MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS

Variable	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Fathers' provider role attitudes	2.32 (0.63)	---											
2 Fathers' percent of time in chores	1.11 (1.95)	.20	---										
3 Fathers' percent of time in child care	2.36 (3.09)	-.17	-.08	---									
4 Fathers' percent of time in interaction with adolescents	1.56 (2.06)	-.20	-.17	.05	---								
5 Adolescents' warmth toward mothers	5.97 (1.02)	.20	.07	.14	.16	---							
6 Adolescents' warmth toward fathers	5.87 (1.09)	.17	.11	.35*	.04	.67***	---						
7 Mothers' affect	4.83 (0.50)	.24+	-.01	.41**	.03	.31*	.21	---					
8 Fathers' affect	4.89 (0.66)	.15	.04	-.06	.01	.15	.11	.35*	---				

TABLE 1 - Continued

Variable	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
9 Adolescents' affect	5.31 (0.77)	.24+	.05	.12	.14	.60***	.52***	.26*	.17	---			
10 Adolescents' depression ¹	10.53 (6.45)	-.15	-.15	-.01	-.05	-.36**	-.28*	-.24+	-.36*	-.31*	---		
11 Adolescents' self-esteem	2.94 (0.49)	.19	.19	.02	.07	.23	.15	.09	.20	.30*	-.65***	---	
12 Adolescents' depression (Time 2) ²	4.11 (3.49)	-.15	-.13	-.02	-.26+	-.31*	-.22	-.22	-.04	-.41**	.44**	-.34*	---
13 Adolescents' self-esteem (Time 2)	3.22 (0.49)	.01	.11	.12	.18	.09	.03	.15	.08	.13	-.14	.20	-.56***

¹ The depression inventory at Time 1 consisted of the 27-item version of the Kovacs scale.

² The depression inventory at Time 2 consisted of the shorter, 14-item version of the Kovacs scale.

+ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The correlations relative to each hypothesis are further discussed below.

Linkages of fathers' family work to mother-adolescent relations and well-being.

Hypothesis 1: Fathers' provider-role attitudes will predict fathers' time in family work. In conflict with the hypothesis, fathers' provider-role attitudes did not correlate significantly with any of the three categories of fathers' percentage of time in family work (Table 1). Furthermore, these attitudes were not significantly related to the measures of warmth toward parents. Regarding the indicators of well-being, fathers' provider-role attitudes marginally ($p < .10$) correlated with both mothers' affect ($r = .24$) and adolescents' affect ($r = .24$). Although more egalitarian attitudes did not predict fathers' actual time in family work, they tended to relate weakly to the day-to-day affect of mothers and adolescents.

While the correlations provide information on the direct relationships between each variable, the regression analyses that follow allow us to study potential interactions. A family earner status variable was created to identify potential subgroups of individuals. The variable was dummy-coded as a dichotomous vector in which membership in a dual-earner family was assigned a 1, whereas non-membership in that category was assigned a 0. An interaction term of family earner status by fathers' provider-role attitudes was then computed to disclose a possible interaction between the predictor variables. For example, do fathers engage in

more family work when they have more egalitarian provider-role attitudes *and* live in dual-earner families?

In three regressions, the dependent variables consisted of the three measures of fathers' percentage of time in family work. In determining the order of the predictor variables, I followed J. Cohen and P. Cohen's (1975) recommendation that less transient variables, such as family earner status, be given priority over more transient ones, such as attitudes. The predictor variables included family earner status (Step 1), fathers' provider-role attitudes (Step 2), and the interaction term, family earner status by fathers' attitudes. Family earner status was not related to the amount of time that fathers spent in chores, child care, or interaction with adolescents. Furthermore, the interaction term of earner status by fathers' attitudes did not predict fathers' time in any of the three family work categories. Thus, among both dual- and single-earner fathers, the data did not support the prediction that provider-role attitudes would relate positively to fathers' time in family work.

Hypothesis 2: Fathers' percentage of time in family work will significantly predict mothers' daily affect. Only one of the three categories of fathers' time in family work is supportive of the predicted set of relations -- fathers' time in child care. Contrary to expectation, mothers' affect did not correlate with fathers' time in chores or interaction with adolescents (Table 1).

I have argued that the relationship between fathers' time in family work and mothers' affect will not be moderated by family

earner status. For example, I do not expect that fathers' time in family work will be related to more positive affect only for employed mothers. To address this issue, interaction terms of family earner status by each of the three categories of fathers' time in family work will evaluate potential moderating relationships to mothers' affect.

In the first regression, the predictor variables included family earner status (Step 1), fathers' time in chores (Step 2), and the interaction term, earner status by fathers' time in chores (Step 3). None of the variables significantly predicted mothers' affect.

In the next regression, family earner status, fathers' percentage of time in child care, and the interaction term of family earner status by fathers' time in child care were entered successively on Steps 1 through 3. As the correlation also showed, fathers' time in child care significantly predicted more positive daily affect for mothers, $B = .41$, $F \text{ change} = 9.84$, $p < .005$, thus confirming one segment of the hypothesis. Fathers' child care explained 17 percent of the variance in mothers' affect. The interaction term was not significant, indicating that whether mothers were employed or not, fathers' time in child care related positively to mothers' affect.²

² Given that fathers with three or more children spent a greater percentage of time in child care than did fathers with fewer children, the potential moderating effect of family size on mothers' affect was tested in a hierarchical regression. The predictor variables included family size (i.e., number of children in the family), fathers' time in child care, and the interaction term of family size by fathers' time in child care. Both family size and the interaction term added a nonsignificant amount of variance to the equation. Thus the relationship between fathers' time in child care and mothers' affect did not differ by family size.

The third regression repeated the above steps with fathers' percentage of time in interaction with the target child as the new predictor variable. Like fathers' time in chores, neither the main nor interaction terms related significantly to mothers' affect.

In summary, family earner status and fathers' time in chores and interaction with adolescents were nonsignificant predictors of mothers' affect. The only category of fathers' daily family work to predict mothers' daily affect was fathers' percentage of time in child care, and, as expected, this relationship was not moderated by family earner status.

Hypothesis 3: Mothers' affect will predict adolescents' warmth toward mothers. Mothers' affect correlated positively with adolescents' warmth toward mothers, consequently supporting the expectation that mothers' well-being predicts the quality of mother-child relations (Table 1).

Hypothesis 4: Adolescents' warmth toward mothers will predict adolescents' emotional well-being. Warmth toward mother correlated significantly with adolescents' affect and depression, but, unexpectedly, not with self-esteem (Table 1). It is also noteworthy that adolescents' warmth toward mothers is more strongly related to adolescents' affect than depression. Both the warmth and affect variables are ESM measures of daily experience; thus this relationship is probably due in part to shared method variance. There is also the likelihood of reciprocity between these variables: Adolescents who experienced more positive affect probably felt

warmer toward their mothers, and vice-versa. The relationship between warmth and depression, a retrospective questionnaire measure, is significant, thus providing further support for nexus between the quality of mother-child relations and adolescents' well-being.

Just Identified Path Model 1: Figure 5. As demonstrated by the correlation and regression equations, a number of hypotheses delineated in the conceptual model (Figure 3) were not supported, thus eliminating several of the measures from further study through path analysis. Fathers' provider-role attitudes did not predict fathers' time in family work, and fathers' time in chores and interaction with the target adolescent did not predict mothers' affect or adolescents' warmth toward fathers. Adolescents' warmth toward either parent was not related to self-esteem. Furthermore, family earner status did not moderate the effects of fathers' provider-role attitudes on family work, or fathers' family work on mothers' affect, thus indicating that the relationships between these variables are consistent among both dual- and single-earner families.

A path analysis was then computed to examine all of the direct and mediating relationships among the best predictors. The correlation and regression analyses reduced the number of variables to be examined in the path model, thus maintaining an adequate number of at least 10 cases per variable (Bentler & Chou, 1987). The measures also met assumptions of acceptable reliability, skew, and kurtosis. Maximum likelihood estimates were obtained using LISREL

VII. As recommended by Cudeck (1989), the estimation of the model was based on a covariance matrix. The standardized parameter estimates appear in the path diagrams, however, as they are more informative in communicating the strength of relationships among the variables.

Figure 5 shows the direct and indirect paths of a just identified recursive model. More specifically, every path has been estimated so that the number of possible parameters is equal to the number of estimated paths in the model (see Hoyle, 1995). The model thus has 0 degrees of freedom. The just identified solution is an appropriate strategy for demonstrating both direct and mediating relationships in simple path analysis models (Chou & Bentler, 1995).

The model tested five direct paths:

- a. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto mothers' affect
- b. mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers
- c. adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' affect
- d. adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' depression
- e. adolescents' affect \mapsto depression

The indirect paths included:

- a. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers
- b. mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' affect
- c. mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' depression
- d. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' affect
- e. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' depression

The standardized beta coefficients for all of these paths appear in Figure 5. The following direct relationships were significant:

Fathers' percentage of time in child care predicted mothers' affect ($\underline{B} = .41, \underline{t} = 3.22$), mothers' affect predicted adolescent-to-mother warmth ($\underline{B} = .31, \underline{t} = 2.10$) and adolescent-to-mother warmth predicted adolescents' affect ($\underline{B} = .55, \underline{t} = 4.46$), and depression ($\underline{B} = -.33, \underline{t} = -2.42$).

Next, the mediating relationships among the variables were evaluated. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), three types of bivariate relationships are necessary for a variable to function as a significant mediator between a predictor and a dependent variable: (a) the predictor variable correlates with the mediating variable, (b)

the predictor variable correlates with the dependent variable, and (c) the mediating variable correlates with the dependent variable. The authors maintain that “mediation holds if the [predictor] variable has no effect when the mediator is controlled” (p. 1177).

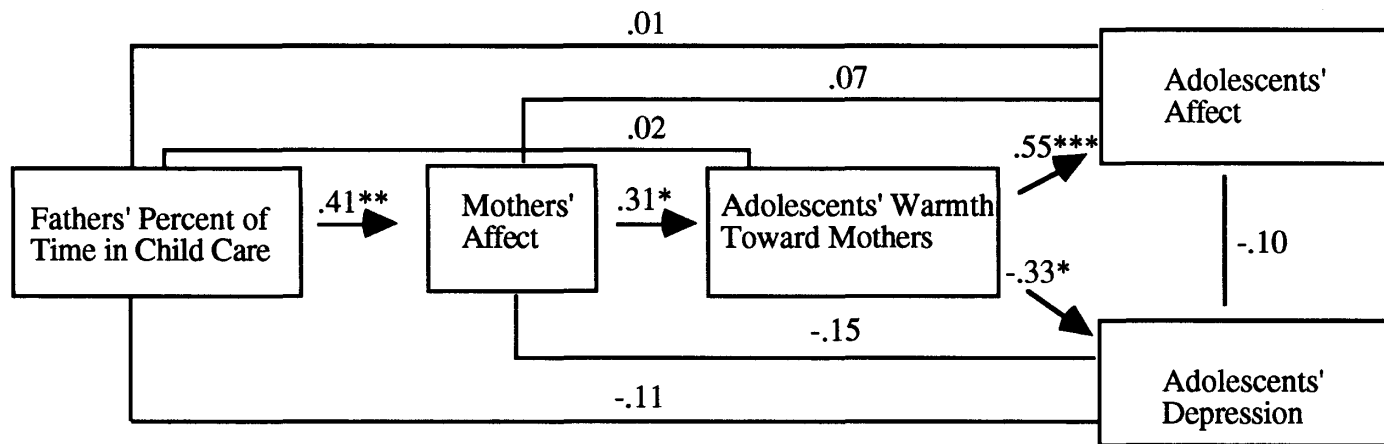
Given the small sample size, a liberal standard of $p < .10$ was used to evaluate the mediating relationships in the model. First, it was predicted that the quality of mother-child relations, as measured by adolescents' warmth toward mothers, would mediate the relationship between mothers' affect and adolescents' well-being. As shown in Table 1, mothers' affect correlated significantly with adolescents' affect and marginally correlated with depression; adolescents' warmth correlated significantly with mothers' affect and the two measures of adolescents' well-being. Mothers' affect no longer related significantly to the well-being measures once warmth was controlled in the path analysis (affect: $B = .07$, $t = .52$; depression: $B = -.15$, $t = -1.05$). Adolescents' warmth toward mothers also related significantly to adolescents' affect and depression when the variance in mothers' affect was controlled, thus mediating the relationship between mothers' affect and adolescents' well-being (Figure 5).

Second, mothers' affect did not mediate a relationship between fathers' time in child care and adolescents' warmth toward mothers. As shown in Table 1, fathers' child care did not correlate with warmth toward mothers; thus these variables are related indirectly as both share significant variance with mothers' affect.

Figure 5

Linkages of fathers' percentage of time in child care to mother-adolescent relations and well-being:

Standardized path coefficients.



Note. The coefficients are based on maximum likelihood estimation. The arrows indicate significant coefficients:

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The final opportunity for mediation involved all of the variables in Figure 5: from fathers' child care to mothers' affect to adolescents' warmth to adolescents' well-being. The bivariate associations of fathers' child care to adolescents' affect and depression were not significant. Fathers' child care was thus only indirectly linked to adolescents' well-being through its relationship to mothers' affect.

The squared multiple correlations indicated the total amount of variance accounted for in each endogenous variable in the model. The model accounted for 17 percent of the variance in mothers' affect, 10 percent of the variance in adolescents' warmth toward mothers, 38 percent of variance in adolescents' affect, and 15 percent of the variance in adolescents' depression.

To summarize, the initial model-building analyses offered circumscribed support for the hypotheses. Only one category of fathers' family work predicted mothers' affect: Fathers' time in child care related positively to mothers' affect which, in turn, related positively to the warmth of mother-adolescent relations. Warmth, then, predicted adolescents' emotional well-being. Adolescents' warmth toward mothers mediated the relationships between mothers' affect and the two measures of adolescents' well-being.

Linkages of fathers' family work to father-adolescent relations and well-being. The next set of model-building analyses examined warmth toward fathers in relation to fathers' family work and adolescents' emotional well-being.

Hypothesis 1: Fathers' time in family work will not predict fathers' affect. The bivariate correlations supported this hypothesis; fathers' affect was not related to fathers' time in chores, child care, or interaction with the target adolescent (Table 1).

To address the potential moderating effects of family earner status, three hierarchical regressions were performed with fathers' affect as the dependent variable. In the first equation, family earner status, fathers' time in chores, and an interaction term of family earner status by fathers time in chores were entered on Steps 1 through 3 respectively. None of the variables significantly predicted fathers' affect. The next two regressions repeated the same steps with family earner status, and the remaining categories of fathers' family work entered as main and interaction predictors. The data supported the hypothesis that fathers' time in family work would not predict fathers' well-being. The lack of interaction effects further reveals that the nonsignificant relationship between fathers' family work and affect did not vary by family earner status: Fathers' affect was not related to family work for both dual- and single-earner fathers.

Hypothesis 2: Fathers' time in family work will predict adolescents' warmth toward fathers. Neither fathers' time in chores nor interaction were significant predictors, but fathers' time in child care correlated with adolescents' warmth toward fathers (Table 1). Partial support was thus provided for the prediction that fathers'

time in family work would relate positively to adolescent-to-father warmth.

Of additional interest is the nonsignificant relationship between fathers' affect and warmth-to-father. While the marginal relationship between mothers' affect and adolescents' depression is mediated by warmth-to-mother, fathers' affect related directly to adolescents' level of depression (Table 1).

Hypothesis 3: Adolescents' warmth toward fathers will predict adolescents' emotional well-being. Like adolescents' warmth toward mothers, adolescents' warmth toward fathers correlated with two of the three measures of adolescents' well-being -- affect and depression. Again, daily warmth was more strongly linked to daily affect than overall depression, indicating probable shared method variance. In accordance with adolescent-to mother warmth and contrary to the hypothesis, self-esteem was not significantly predicted by adolescents' warmth toward fathers.

Just Identified Path Model 2: Figure 6. The correlations and regression analyses have again provided only partial support for the hypotheses, thus reducing the number of variables to be included in the resulting path model. Like the relationships between fathers' family work and mothers' affect, fathers' percentage of time in child care was the only category to significantly predict adolescents' warmth toward fathers. Fathers' time in chores and interaction with the target child did not predict greater warmth toward fathers as expected. Adolescent-to-father warmth related to well-being in

much the same way as adolescent-to-mother warmth. Both measures did not predict adolescents' self-esteem, but correlated with affect and depression.

Once again, the preliminary analyses reduced the number of measures to be included in the resulting path model to an acceptable ratio of over 10 cases per variable. The variables demonstrated acceptable reliability, skew, and kurtosis. In a just identified, recursive model, the direct paths included:

- a. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward fathers
- b. adolescents' warmth toward fathers \mapsto adolescents' affect
- c. adolescents' warmth toward fathers \mapsto adolescents' depression
- d. adolescents' affect \mapsto depression.

The indirect paths included:

- a. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto adolescents' warmth \mapsto adolescents' affect
- b. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto adolescents' warmth \mapsto adolescents' depression

The standardized beta coefficients for these paths appear in Figure 6: Fathers' time in child care significantly predicted adolescent-to-father warmth ($\underline{B} = .35, t = 2.67$), and adolescent-to-

father warmth significantly predicted adolescents' affect ($B = .49$, $t = 3.80$), and depression ($B = -.32$, $t = -2.28$).

In the analysis of the first model, we learned that the bivariate relationships of fathers' child care to adolescents' affect and depression were not significant (Table 1). Hence there was not a mediating relationship in this model, but fathers' child care was indirectly linked to adolescents' well-being via adolescents' warmth toward fathers.

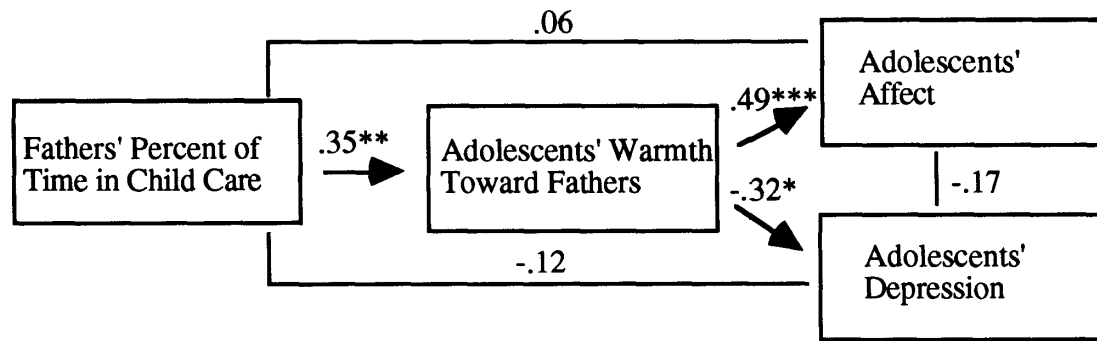
The squared multiple correlations indicated that the model accounted for 12 percent of the variance in adolescents' warmth toward fathers, 30 percent of the variance in affect, and 9 percent of the variance in depression.

To summarize, fathers' percentage of time in child care predicted greater warmth on the part of adolescents toward their fathers, whereas warmth related to more positive emotional well-being for adolescents.

Figure 6

Linkages of fathers' percentage of time in child care to father-adolescent relations and well-being:

Standardized path coefficients.



Note. The coefficients are based on maximum likelihood estimation. The arrows indicate significant coefficients:

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Goodness-of-fit test of the theoretical model. The model-building analyses identified the best predictors to be evaluated in a test of the theoretical model. The relationships among the resulting variables were consistent with the hypotheses. An overidentified path model was then computed to test the fit of the data to the hypothesized relationships. In an overidentified solution, a value for one or more of the free parameters can be obtained with more than one equation (see Hoyle, 1995). The advantage of overidentification is that it allows a test of the entire model. The degrees of freedom equal the number of possible paths minus the number of specified paths.

To conform to the required ratio of 10 cases per measure, the affect and depression variables were combined. These measures were moderately correlated ($r = -.31$), related similarly to the other variables to be included in the model, and have correlated with additional measures of adjustment (Larson, 1989). The items on the depression scale were first reversed so that higher scores would indicate greater well-being. The affect and depression measures were then standardized and averaged.

Path coefficients predicted to be nonsignificant (e.g., fathers' time in child care to adolescents' emotional well-being) were fixed to zero, and parameters expected to be significant were allowed to be estimated.

The following paths were specified:

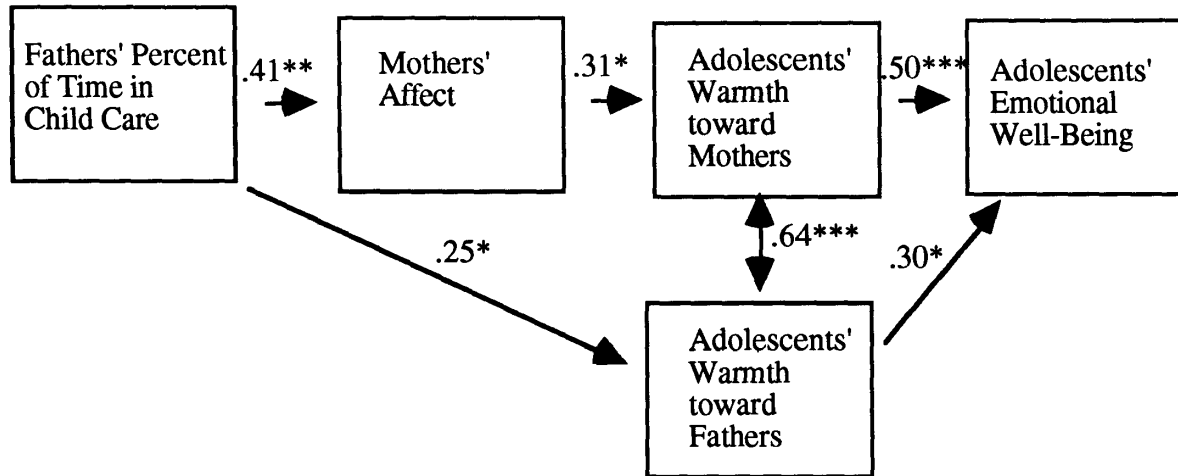
- a. fathers' percentage of time in child care \rightarrow mothers' affect

- b. fathers' percentage of time in child care \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward fathers
- c. mothers' affect \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward mothers
- d. adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' well-being
- e. adolescents' warmth toward fathers \mapsto adolescents' well-being
- f. adolescents' warmth toward mothers \mapsto adolescents' warmth toward fathers

The standardized path coefficients appear in Figure 7. Consistent with the just-identified models, fathers' time in child care predicted mothers' affect ($\underline{B} = .41, t = 3.22$) and adolescent-to-father warmth ($\underline{B} = .25, t = 2.60$), mothers' affect predicted adolescent-to-mother warmth ($\underline{B} = .31, t = 2.36$), both measures of warmth predicted adolescents' emotional well-being (toward mothers: $\underline{B} = .50, t = 3.93$, toward fathers: $\underline{B} = .30, t = 2.31$), and the measures of warmth were correlated ($\underline{B} = .64, t = 6.60$). Because adolescent-to-mother warmth showed a slightly stronger relationship to adolescents' affect and depression than did adolescent-to-father warmth in the just-identified models, the path from warmth toward mother to emotional well-being was entered first in the test of the model. It must be noted that the relatively modest relationship between warmth toward fathers and emotional well-being ($\underline{B} = .30$) is influenced by the correlation between the two measures of warmth. Warmth

Figure 7

Linkages of fathers' percentage of time in child care to parent-adolescent relations and well-being: Test of the model.



Note. The figure shows standardized coefficients based on maximum likelihood estimation.

All coefficients are significant: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Adolescents' emotional well-being is the average of the standardized measures of affect and depression.

GFI = .97, $\chi^2 (4, n = 53) = 3.51, p = .476$.

toward mother shares significant variance with warmth toward father ($r = .67$), thus limiting the strength of warmth toward fathers as a predictor of emotional well-being.

The model fit the data reasonably well, as indicated by the nonsignificant chi-square and goodness-of-fit index of over .9 (see Figure 7). The small sample size, however, may yield unreliable results. A replicated model on a larger sample would be unlikely to fit the data as well.

Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work and Parent-Adolescent Relations to Adolescent Well-Being Over Time: Longitudinal Analysis

Hypothesis: Adolescents' warmth toward parents (Time 1) will predict adolescents' depression and self-esteem (Time 2) two years later. Change in depression and self-esteem was next examined for the 43 adolescents who participated at both Time 1 and Time 2 of the study. Employing a strategy similar to that used for the concurrent analysis, hierarchical regressions were computed to identify the best predictor variables. The first regression examined depression at Time 2 as the dependent variable. The Time 1 variables included depression on Step 1, followed by the forward entry of fathers' time in chores, child care, and interaction with the target child on Step 2, mothers' affect on Step 3, adolescents' warmth toward mothers on Step 4, and adolescents' warmth toward fathers on Step 5. Forward entry was used with the family work variables because there is no theoretical basis on which to argue that any

particular category would account for more of the variance in adolescents' depression. Adolescent-to-mother warmth was entered before adolescent-to-father warmth because it had accounted for slightly more of the variance in Time 1 depression.

Adolescents' warmth toward parents did not predict change in depression over time, but, unexpectedly, father-adolescent interaction did. More interaction between fathers and target children was associated with lower levels of depression after the two-year period, accounting for 8 percent of the variance beyond Time 1 depression, $B = -.28$, $p < .05$ (Table 2). Neither chores nor child care related to depression. With the exception of Time 1 depression, none of the other measures yielded significance. Because only a direct relationship between father-adolescent interaction and Time 2 depression emerged, a path analysis was unnecessary.

A second hierarchical regression was computed to determine whether the relationship between father-adolescent interaction and change in depression would remain significant if additional indicators of the parent-child relationship were controlled in the equation. In this analysis, a measure of adolescents' total percentage of time with fathers was included to examine the effects of overall time versus time spent in interactive activities. Overall time with fathers was operationalized by the aggregated percentage of time spent with fathers, but not mothers, computed from the adolescents' self-reports. A hierarchical regression examined depression at Time 2 as the dependent variable, and at Time 1, depression, overall time with

father, the two measures of warmth toward parents, and fathers' time in interaction as the predictor variables on Steps 1 through 5 respectively. Father-adolescent interaction maintained significance, accounting for about 5 percent of the variance in Time 2 depression beyond the other predictors. Aside from Time 1 depression, the other variables did not contribute significant variance.

Partial correlations were next computed to evaluate the direct relationship between the two measures of warmth toward parents and depression at Time 2, controlling for depression at Time 1. Neither correlation was significant.

Adolescents' self-esteem at Time 2 was next regressed onto the same predictor variables, controlling for self-esteem at Time 1 on the first step. No significant relationships emerged.

Thus the warmth of parent-child relations was not a mediating variable connecting fathers' family work to adolescents' well-being. Instead, one category of fathers' family work -- father-adolescent interaction -- showed a small but significant relationship to lower levels of Time 2 depression.

TABLE 2
LINKAGES OF FATHERS' TIME IN FAMILY WORK AND
PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONS TO ADOLESCENT WELL-BEING
OVER TIME: HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION RESULTS

Step	Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	R ²	R ² change	F change	B
1	Adolescents' depression (Time 2)	Depression (Time 1)	.19	---	9.73**	.44
2		Fathers' percentage of time in interaction with adolescents	.27	.08	4.22*	-.28
		Fathers' percentage of time in chores	.28	.01	0.51	-.10
		Fathers' percentage of time in child care	.28	.00	0.01	-.02
3		Mothers' affect	.31	.04	1.97	-.22
4		Adolescents' warmth toward mothers ¹	.35	.03	1.77	-.19
5		Adolescents' warmth toward fathers ¹	.36	.01	0.79	-.24

Note. This analysis is based on the 43 families who participated at both Time 1 and Time 2 of the study. Standardized beta coefficients are presented at each step of the equation.

¹The relationship between Time 2 depression and warmth toward each parent was also not significant in separate partial correlations controlling only for Time 1 depression.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Linkages of Job Spillover to Subsequent Experience with Family

The final research questions concerned antecedents and consequences of both parents' participation in family work: (a) the influence of employed parents' absorption during paid work on their subsequent participation in chores, child care, and interaction with adolescents, and (b) the influence of one spouse's participation in each of the three family work categories on the other spouse's affect.

Plan of analysis of the hypotheses. Rather than the aggregated measures of overall experience that were used to address the first research questions, this sequential analysis was based on repeated measures of within-person experience. Here, self-reports rather than persons were the unit of analysis. Because of this inflated sample size, a more conservative alpha ($p < .01$) was used to evaluate significance. Nevertheless, this analysis has a problem of independence: Each self-report was treated as a separate case but individuals contributed more than one self-report. Further analysis may address this problem with a different technique that controls for repeated measures, such as multi-level regression.

Fathers worked nighttime shifts in three out of the 53 families. As job-related absences during the evening and night hours commonly interfere with the fulfillment of family roles (e.g., Barling, 1991), I excluded these three families from the analysis.

The family work variables consisted of parents' reports of engagement in chores, child care, and interaction with the target

adolescent. To address involvement versus noninvolvement in these three categories, they were represented by dichotomous variables. If parents did not engage in a given category of family work when they were at home after paid work, the variable was coded as 0. If parents did engage in that category, the variable was coded as 1.

All 50 families were represented in the analyses. It must be noted, however, that only 20 different fathers indicated post-job *involvement* (coded as 1) in any of the three family work categories. Among those who indicated involvement, the sample was well-distributed in that no father contributed more than two instances of family work, and most indicated only one. All 34 of the employed mothers reported at least one instance of family work that took place after a paid job, but these results also must be interpreted cautiously given the smaller sample of employed mothers. Because of this small pool of post-job occasions of family work, these analyses are particularly exploratory.

As with the first two models, the data will be analyzed with hierarchical multiple regression. The final step of path analysis is no longer appropriate, however, because the family work variables are now based on dichotomous, categorical data instead of interval-level data. In the case of item-level information, path analysis of a covariance matrix may lead to incorrect statistical inference (Hoyle & Panter, 1995). Other types of matrices, such as a tetrachoric matrix, may be analyzed, but this technique requires a large sample that is beyond the scope of this study.

Linkages of fathers' job absorption to subsequent family work.

Hypothesis: Fathers' job absorption will negatively predict fathers' reports of involvement in family work. As all fathers were employed, this analysis included the total sample of families. The job absorption variable was created after selecting paid work activities on weekdays as described in the Method section. Among the 34 dual-earner couples, a matched pair t-test revealed that spouses did not differ in their mean level of job absorption.³

The three measures of fathers' involvement in family work were selected on the basis of two criteria: (a) fathers were at home and not engaged in paid work activities, and (b) fathers' reports were provided during 3:30 PM to 9:30 PM on weekdays (i.e., post-job waking hours for 50 of the families). These selection criteria yielded a sample of 227 reports on each measure. To examine the relationship of job absorption to *subsequent* experience at home, the reports were matched by date of occurrence as well as each father's identification number.

In each of three regressions, fathers' overall absorption was entered first to partial out variance due to the response tendency of individuals (see Larson & Delespaul, 1992), followed by fathers' job absorption on Step 2. Fathers' involvement in the three family work

³ For the t-test only, the values of job absorption were transformed into *z* scores. This eliminates differences due to each spouse's response tendency (see Larson & Delespaul, 1992). The *z*-scored values were then aggregated to examine differences between spouses in the experience of job absorption.

categories formed the dependent variables. As indicated in Table 3, fathers' reports of absorption during paid work were negatively related to the dichotomous measure of fathers' subsequent participation in child care (i.e., whether or not fathers engaged in child care after paid work), $B = -.31$, $p < .001$. Eight percent of the variance in fathers' involvement in child care subsequent to paid work was explained by job absorption. Neither fathers' participation in chores nor interaction with the target adolescent yielded significant relationships.

Because fathers' job absorption showed a nonsignificant but negative effect on father-adolescent interaction, this relationship was probed further. The interaction variable was divided into two categories: (a) sports, games, parent-child club activities, and (b) socializing (i.e., talking). Regressions were then computed with the new categories as the dependent variables, and fathers' job absorption as the predictor variable. Although absorption was not related to sports, games, or club activities with the target adolescent, it explained a marginally significant 2 percent of the variance in father-adolescent socializing, $B = -.17$, $p = .02$.

In summary, fathers who were highly absorbed in their jobs were somewhat less likely to do child care and slightly less likely to talk with their children at home.

TABLE 3

LINKAGES OF DAY-TO-DAY PAID WORK SPILLOVER OF ABSORPTION TO
SUBSEQUENT FAMILY EXPERIENCE: HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION RESULTS

Step	Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	R^2	R^2 change	F change	B
1	Fathers' involvement in chores after paid work ^a	Overall absorption	.01	---	2.68	.11
2		Absorption during paid work	.01	.00	0.02	-.01
1	Fathers' involvement in child care after paid work ^a	Overall absorption	.00	---	0.02	-.01
2		Absorption during paid work	.08	.08	20.78***	-.31
1	Fathers' involvement in interaction with adolescents after paid work ^a	Overall absorption	.00	---	0.15	.03
2		Absorption during paid work	.01	.01	1.64	-.09
1	Fathers' involvement in socializing with adolescents after paid work ^{ab}	Overall absorption	.00	---	0.24	-.03
2		Absorption during paid work	.03	.02	5.59 ⁺	-.17

TABLE 3 - Continued

Note. Standardized beta coefficients are presented at each step of the equation. Three fathers who worked nighttime shifts were excluded from this analysis. Job absorption was computed from reports obtained during daytime paid work activities; noninvolvement versus involvement in family work was obtained from reports occurring 3:30 PM to 9:30 PM on weekdays when fathers were at home and not engaged in paid work activities (n = 227 reports).

+ $p = .02$, *** $p < .001$.

^a Dichotomous variable indicating involvement versus noninvolvement

^b Sub-category of father-adolescent interaction (i.e., talking)

Linkages of fathers' involvement in family work to mothers' subsequent affect.

Hypothesis: Fathers' involvement in family work will predict more positive affect for mothers. The effect of fathers' involvement in family work on mothers' subsequent affect was examined next. This analysis is entirely separate from that of job absorption and subsequent involvement in family work. Although fathers' job absorption contributed to less family involvement, absorption was not a factor here. Post-job involvement in family work was examined in relation to mothers' affect regardless of fathers' level of absorption.

This analysis required reports of mothers' affect before and after fathers' post-job involvement in family tasks. All instances were selected on the basis of three criteria: (a) both parents were at home and not engaged in paid work activities, (b) both parents provided reports during 3:30 PM to 9:30 PM on weekdays, and (c) both parents provided two sequential reports within a 4-hour interval. These criteria yielded a total of 132 reports on each measure. Couples' reports were matched by a common identification number and the date of occurrence.

To examine the effects of prior events on subsequent experience, two types of variables were computed based on the selection criteria. First, mothers' affect and fathers' involvement in the three family work categories were computed from each parent's reports. Second, lag variables provided the report before the subsequent one; the lag

of mothers' affect is the report prior to the next report of mothers' affect and the next report of fathers' involvement in family work within the 4-hour time interval. Similarly, three lag variables represented the reports of fathers' family work involvement prior to mothers' next report of affect and fathers' next report of family work involvement.

In three hierarchical regressions, mothers' subsequent, or second, report of affect was the dependent variable. It was assumed that previous affect would influence subsequent affect; therefore the lag affect variable, or mothers' prior report of affect, was entered as a control on Step 1. Each of the regressions included the lag of one of the dichotomous family work variables as a predictor on Step 2, and the subsequent, or second, report of one of the family work variables on Step 3. With this method, we may evaluate both sequential and concurrent relationships.

The lag, or prior report, of mothers' affect significantly predicted subsequent affect. Among the family work categories, only the lag variable of fathers' involvement in child care significantly predicted mothers' affect, $B = .23$, $p < .005$. Fathers' involvement in child care accounted for 5 percent of the variance in mothers' second report of affect, thus contributing to a small but significant change in mothers' subsequent affect (Table 4). This finding is consistent with the between-couple analysis of average experience; fathers' percentage of time in child care was the only category of family work that related significantly to mothers' affect.

TABLE 4

LINKAGES OF FATHERS' POST-JOB INVOLVEMENT IN FAMILY WORK TO
MOTHERS' AFFECT: HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION RESULTS

Step	Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	R ²	R ² change	F change	B
1	Mothers' subsequent affect	Mothers' prior affect ^b	.19	---	30.76***	.44
2		Fathers' prior involvement in chores ^{ab}	.20	.01	0.93	.08
3		Fathers' subsequent involvement in chores ^a	.21	.01	2.18	.12
1	Mothers' subsequent affect	Mothers' prior affect ^b	.19	---	30.76***	.44
2		Fathers' prior involvement in child care ^{ab}	.24	.05	8.76**	.23
3		Fathers' subsequent involvement in child care ^a	.25	.00	0.50	.06

TABLE 4 - Continued

1	Mothers' subsequent affect	Mothers' prior affect ^b	.19	---	30.76***	.44
2		Fathers' prior involvement in interaction with adolescents ^{ab}	.19	.00	0.42	.05
3		Fathers' subsequent involvement in interaction with adolescents ^a	.19	.00	0.04	-.02

Note. Standardized beta coefficients are presented at each step of the equation. Three fathers who worked nighttime shifts were excluded from this analysis. Reports were selected on the basis of three criteria: (a) both parents were at home and not engaged in paid work activities, (b) both parents provided reports during 3:30 PM to 9:30 PM on weekdays, and (c) both parents provided two sequential reports within a 4-hour interval (n = 132 reports).

** $p < .005$, *** $p < .001$.

^a Dichotomous variable indicating involvement versus noninvolvement

^b Lag variable: Report occurs prior to the subsequent variables.

The concurrent relationships between mothers' second report of affect and fathers' second report of involvement in family work did not contribute significant variance to any of the equations. Thus fathers' earlier rather than concurrent involvement in child care appeared to influence a positive change in mothers' affect.

In summary, fathers' job absorption negatively influenced participation in child care and tended to slightly reduce talking with adolescents at home. Although small amounts of variance were explained, the findings suggest a pattern of fathers' job absorption contributing to less involvement with family. Furthermore, fathers' post-job engagement in one category of family work -- child care -- predicted a small, positive change in mothers' affect. Additional study may consider the direct influence of fathers' level of absorption during paid work on mothers' subsequent affect.

Linkages of mothers' job absorption to subsequent family work and linkages of mothers' involvement in family work to fathers' subsequent affect.

Hypotheses: Mothers' job absorption will negatively predict mothers' reports of involvement in family work; however, these relationships will be weaker than those found for fathers. Mothers' post-job involvement in family work will predict more positive affect for fathers. Following the same procedures used to examine fathers' absorption, the effects of mothers' job absorption on subsequent family work involvement were evaluated with the self-reports of the

thirty-four employed mothers. None of the relationships achieved significance. Employed mothers did not demonstrate linkages between job-related absorption and post-job involvement in chores, child care, or interaction with adolescents.

Next, the effects of employed mothers' participation in family work on fathers' subsequent affect were examined with a series of hierarchical regressions. The same procedures and selection criteria used to examine the effects of fathers' family work on mothers' subsequent affect were performed here. Fathers' subsequent affect was not significantly related to mothers' post-job involvement in any of the three family work categories.

To summarize, mothers' job absorption did not influence their subsequent involvement in family work, and mothers' post-job involvement in family work did not contribute significantly to fathers' affect.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Within a sample of dual-earner and single-earner parents and their young adolescent children, this study has explored two sets of research questions. First, is fathers' percentage of time in family work (i.e., household chores, child care, and interaction with adolescents) linked to the overall quality of parent-child relations and young adolescents' emotional well-being? In analysis of average experience, fathers' participation in child care predicted positive levels of mothers' affect and adolescents' warmth toward fathers, and related indirectly to mother-adolescent warmth, and adolescents' affect and depression. Other family work categories, specifically chores and interaction with adolescents, did not predict relations or concurrent well-being. Regarding the longitudinal findings, father-adolescent interaction at Time 1 predicted lower levels of depression among adolescents after a two-year period at Time 2.

Second, turning to antecedents and consequences of family work, is day-to-day job-related absorption linked to parents' involvement in family work, and does one spouse's involvement in family work influence the other spouse's affect? By means of within-person analysis of sequential experience, fathers' job absorption had a small,

negative influence on their participation in child care and socializing with the target adolescent after paid work. Job absorption was unrelated to fathers' post-job involvement in chores or mothers' post-job involvement in any of the three categories of family work. Only fathers' involvement in child care predicted more positive subsequent affect for mothers.

Before further discussion of the findings, it is important to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the study. A salient strength is the unique capacity of the ESM to obtain data within context, rendering it a powerful tool to study the variegated patterns of ordinary life. With glimpses into daily activities and emotions, as well as retrospective measures of global attitudes and well-being, the study presented a multidimensional assessment of family work and relationships. Time-sampling measures, such as the ESM, are particularly useful in gathering objective data on family work, as retrospective measures tend to yield overestimation of the amount of family work that individuals remember doing and what they actually do (Marini & Shelton, 1993). Because the ESM allows participants to report their moods during an activity rather than after one, it is also likely to provide a more accurate record of the subjective experience of a task such as paid work, whereas retrospective measures may be distorted by intervening events. Furthermore, we gain insight into daily experience from three family members, hence a range of perspective is provided.

The study is limited, however, in its ability to generalize findings beyond a working- and middle-class European-American population. In addition, the sample included only married-parent families; other studies have found a moderating effect of single mothers' earner status on children's well-being (e.g., Duckett & Richards, 1995). The findings may also pertain mainly to families with adolescent children. It is possible that husbands' participation in family work has more influence on their wives' well-being when children are young and require greater care. In fact, the sample size was too small to adequately address other potential moderating effects on the relationships that were examined.

As Bronfenbrenner (1986) asserted, the impact of a contextual model varies depending on the personal characteristics of individual family members. For example, the relationship between fathers' participation in child care and mothers' affect may vary by mothers' attitudes toward fathers' participation in family work. If mothers' attitudes are incongruent with fathers' actions, the observed connection may attenuate. Conversely, the relationship may strengthen if mothers desire or need such support. Due to the small sample size, I chose to examine a limited number of relationships based on consistent theory and evidence derived from prior research.

Most emphatically, all conclusions drawn from the findings must be tempered in light of the small sample size. The small sample may yield unreliable results, increasing the probability of Type I error,

and does reduce the statistical power to demonstrate effects, increasing the probability of Type II error. Of particular concern in this analysis has been the interpretation of the goodness-of-fit test of the theoretical model, for models on small samples are unlikely to fit larger samples as well (Saris, Ronden & Satorra, 1987). Some of the paths may be under- or overestimated. Hence this is an exploratory study. Concordant with the general pattern of prior research, the significant relationships emerged in the hypothesized direction. These findings must be duplicated on a larger sample, however, before the results can be generalized to the population.

Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work to Parent-Adolescent Relations and Well-Being

The findings were partially supportive of the theoretical model. Returning to the refined model presented in Figure 7, fathers' time in child care related to more positive affect among mothers and higher warmth toward fathers among adolescents, mothers' affect related to higher warmth toward mothers, and adolescents' warmth toward both parents related to more positive affect and lower levels of depression. Linkages between mothers' affect and both measures of adolescents' emotional well-being were mediated by adolescents' warmth toward mothers. The results of each predicted linkage are next discussed.

Whether mothers were employed or not, fathers spent equivalent amounts of time in family work. Among new parents of

preschool children, dual-earner fathers tend to perform more family work than do single-earner fathers (e.g., Crouter & Crowley, 1990; Leslie & Anderson, 1988), but the nonsignificant effect of family earner status was expected for this sample. Dual-earner fathers appear to take on more family work when children's needs for assistance are especially high. As the quantity of family work tasks tends to moderate in households with adolescent children, earner status was not expected to influence fathers' involvement.

This interpretation of the data, however, may confound the timing of mothers' employment with age of the child. Longitudinal research has revealed that maternal employment leads to greater paternal involvement with preschool children, and that this involvement is likely to continue into adolescence (A. E. Gottfried, Bathurst, & A. W. Gottfried, 1994). Early maternal employment status was not examined in the present study, leaving its potential degree of influence on fathers' participation in family work open to speculation. It is possible that the mothers in this sample entered into employment only when their children were older: a situation that may have established a pattern of paternal noninvolvement that existed when children were younger as well. Further data on relationships between early family earner status and fathers' long-term participation in family work would help to clarify this issue.

Unexpectedly, fathers' provider-role attitudes did not predict fathers' time in family work and this lack of relationship was true for both dual- and single-earner fathers. The finding conflicted with

prior research (Hood, 1986; Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990). There are two reasonable explanations. First, the small sample may have yielded results that are unrepresentative of the larger population. Second, it is more likely that the problem lies in the quality of the measure used in this study. The previous research has relied on far more encompassing methods of evaluating provider-role attitudes. For example, Hood (1986) conducted a series of open-ended interviews with both parents that were designed to group them into main/secondary providers, ambivalent providers, and coproviders. Based on Hood's assessment, Perry-Jenkins and Crouter (1990) examined responses to both closed and open-ended questions measuring global values, specific attitudes, and financial information.

The measure used in the present study lacked such depth and precision; it consisted of closed-ended items on specific attitudes. Only two of the items focused directly on the provider role whereas the others concerned the division of family work. The scale as a whole may have measured attitudes toward the division of paid and family labor, a correlate of provider-role attitudes (see Hood, 1986). In a probe of the individual items on the scale, one was found to correlate positively with fathers' percentage of time in chores: "My wife's income is as vital to the well-being of our family as mine is." This particular item may have tapped into the provider-role construct. Rather than assume that fathers' provider-role attitudes did not predict family work in this sample, it is probably more

accurate to conclude that the measure lacked the scope required to evaluate provider-role beliefs.

Few studies have examined the differential impact of fathers' time in chores, child care, and interaction with adolescents. Fathers' time in any of the three family work categories was unrelated to their own affect, possibly because they were less likely to engage in family work if they were in a negative mood (Larson & Richards, 1994). Although all categories of fathers' family work were expected to predict mothers' affect, only one did so: Fathers' percentage of time in child care related positively to daily affect for both single- and dual-earner mothers. This category of family work also predicted warmth toward fathers. Why did child care yield significant relationships whereas chores and father-adolescent interaction did not? Fathers spent less time in all categories of family work relative to their wives, but they engaged in roughly twice as much child care as chores or interaction with the target adolescent. This finding is consistent with other studies in which fathers have reported more time in child care than housework (e.g., Almeida et al., 1993). The distribution of child care in the present study was also unskewed, resulting in a more reliable measure than the other categories.

Yet perhaps the critical difference is the more urgent nature of child care responsibilities. Housework may be delayed, interaction with children may occur spontaneously, but children's needs frequently require immediate attention. Fathers' day-to-day support

of children's ongoing care may be more imperative to sustained family functioning, and so may enhance mothers' day-to-day level of happiness. We cannot, however, determine whether there is a causal relationship here. Further study would benefit from within-family analysis: Does fathers' engagement in child care precipitate more positive affect for mothers, or is the reverse true? This question was partially addressed in the analysis of post-job involvement in family work discussed in the next section.

The positive relationship between fathers' involvement in child care and mothers' well-being has been replicated across studies (e.g., Ross & Mirowsky, 1988; Schwartzberg & Dytell, 1996). An issue raised by these findings concerns the mechanism underlying the relationship. In both single-earner and dual-earner families, a reduction in mothers' role strain may mediate the relationship between fathers' time in child care and mothers' well-being. Both employed and nonemployed mothers have manifested symptoms of role strain (e.g., anxiety, depression, fatigue) when they felt stressed by competing demands for attention associated with their role(s) (Barnett & Rivers, 1996; A. E. Gottfried et al., 1995). In the present study, fathers' support, through engagement in child care responsibilities, may have reduced mothers' role strain, and thus enhanced mothers' affect. Further study may consider variables representing the role strain construct in relation to fathers' time in family work, particularly child care, and mothers' well-being.

Consistent with literature documenting a connection between mothers' well-being and the quality of the mother-child relationship (e.g., Downy & Coyne, 1990), mothers' affect was linked to adolescents' warmth toward mothers as proposed. The mediating influence of adolescents' warmth was observed in the relationship of mothers' affect to adolescents' well-being. Mothers' affect predicted adolescents' affect and marginally predicted depression, but these relationships diminished once adolescents' warmth toward mothers was controlled. This finding supported prior theory that mothers' feelings influence mother-child interaction and that this, in turn, influences the child's characteristics (Lerner & Galambos, 1988).

In contrast, paternal well-being did not operate as a similar connection to the quality of father-adolescent relations in this sample. Fathers' affect was not linked to adolescents' warmth toward fathers. From day to day, mothers' affect may have more of an impact on adolescents' feelings toward mothers, as mothers and children spend more time together (Larson & Richards, 1994). This relationship is probably reciprocal: The mother's level of happiness enhances the adolescent's feelings of warmth toward her, and the adolescent's feelings of warmth enhance the mother's level of happiness. Fathers, however, are not without influence on their children's well-being.

Because the measures of warmth toward fathers and mothers were correlated, their relationships to adolescents' well-being were not independent. They were not treated as a single construct,

however, due to the differential impact of fathers' time in child care. The link between fathers' time in child care and warmth-to-mother operated through mothers' affect. Warmth-to-father, however, was directly predicted by fathers' time in child care. Does fathers' involvement in the daily maintenance of children elicit adolescents' warmth toward parents? Fathers' participation in child care may be a consequence rather than a cause of adolescents' warmth toward parents. It is also plausible that fathers' involvement in these caretaking tasks influences the quality of father-child relations. Warmth was unrelated to fathers' time in chores or, interestingly, interactions that consisted primarily of socializing, sports, and games with the target adolescent. It may be that fathers who take part in the day-to-day maintenance of children are fostering a more positive relationship with their adolescent.

In this sample, adolescents' warmth toward both parents predicted two of the measures of adolescents' well-being: affect and depression. Contrary to hypotheses, however, adolescents' self-esteem was not related to warmth toward either parent. There is evidence that the effects of parenting behaviors on self-esteem may differ by gender, with warm and supportive behaviors of the opposite-sex parent predicting self-esteem in adolescent boys and girls more strongly than those of the same-sex parent (Richards, Gitelson, Petersen, & Hurtig, 1991). The small sample size of the present study may have reduced the ability to detect gender

differences in the relationship of warmth toward mothers and fathers to self-esteem in boys and girls.

Prior studies have consistently observed a connection between parental support and more positive adolescent self-esteem (Openshaw, Thomas, & Rollins, 1984). The parental support construct, however, has been operationalized as a wide variety of instrumental as well as expressive parenting behaviors (e.g., warmth, approval, affection, encouragement, help) (Barber, 1990; Manscill & Rollins, 1990). The present study focused on adolescents' experience of warmth toward parents rather than the larger construct of parental support, thereby limiting the measure to the expressive quality of the parent-child relationship. It is also possible that self-esteem may be more of a function of parental appraisal than it is of the emotional experience of warmth measured in this study (see Manscill & Rollins, 1990).

Affect and depression, on the other hand, may have been more influenced by the emotional relationship with the parent than was self-esteem. The path coefficients for the measures of adolescent-to-mother warmth and adolescent-to-father warmth suggested that both explained an equivalent amount of the variability in affect and depression (Figures 5 and 6). As discussed in prior literature, warm relations with both mothers and fathers positively influence children's development (Collins, 1990; Hinde, 1992; Holmbeck et al., 1995; Wenk et al., 1994). Furthermore, from the perspective of family systems theory, reciprocity occurs in all relationships

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In the ebb and flow of daily family life, a warm parent-child relationship may enhance children's emotional well-being, and more emotionally healthy children may experience warmer relations with their parents.

The model has presented an overall picture of fathers' percentage of time in child care in the context of ordinary family experience, incorporating processes through which paternal child care may ultimately influence adolescents' development. Although cause-effect linkages could not be determined here, families in which fathers did more child care reported more positive experience. Husbands who spent more time in child care had happier wives, regardless of their wives' employment status, and mothers who were happier had warmer relations with their children. Fathers' time in child care did not predict adolescents' emotional well-being, but was indirectly linked to these outcomes through its connection to mothers' well-being and the warmth of parent-child relations.

Linkages of Fathers' Time in Family Work and Parent-Adolescent Relations to Adolescent Well-Being Over Time

Although the relationship between warmth toward parents and depression was significant concurrently, warmth did not predict change over time. The longitudinal analyses demonstrated nonsignificant relationships of mothers' affect and adolescents' warmth toward parents at Time 1 to the measures of depression and self-esteem taken two years later at Time 2. Fathers' time in

interaction with the target adolescent at Time 1, however, predicted lower levels of depression at Time 2.

The measure of interaction with the target adolescent was a negligible predictor of adolescents' warmth toward parents and well-being in the concurrent analyses. In fact, none of the categories of fathers' family work directly related to adolescents' concurrent well-being. The measure of family work to yield a concurrently significant relationship to adolescents' warmth toward fathers -- child care -- included tasks that were performed for all children in the family, rather than only the target adolescent. In contrast to interaction, the child care measure provided a more general assessment of fathers' participation in children's lives. This day-to-day care may have resulted in warmer father-child relations that, in turn, related to concurrent well-being. Father-adolescent interaction, on the other hand, was more predictive of less depression over time. This finding supports research that has demonstrated the long-term positive effects of father-child interaction on children's adjustment (Parke, 1995).

Notably, adolescents who participated at Time 2 of the study had fathers who reported somewhat more positive affect at Time 1. Conclusions regarding the positive effects of father-adolescent interaction may be specific to those children of fathers with more positive daily emotions. Because fathers' affect was uncorrelated with father-adolescent interaction at Time 1, however, it is likely

that the negative relationship between interaction and Time 2 depression may be generalized to the entire sample.

Linkages of Job Spillover to Subsequent Experience with Family

The next research questions addressed within-person antecedents and consequences of post-job involvement in family work. Employed parents reported their experience of absorption during paid work time, rather than after paid work as rendered in past studies. Furthermore, each spouse's change in affect was examined after the other spouse's post-job involvement in dichotomous (involvement versus noninvolvement) measures of family work. Fathers who reported higher absorption during paid work showed some reduction in subsequent family involvement at home. They were less likely to do child care and slightly less likely to talk with their adolescent children, but engagement in chores was unaffected. Because reports of any involvement in post-job family work were generally low, particularly among fathers, these findings are meant to be viewed as exploratory trends in the data.

Fathers' job-related absorption was associated with a reduction in family work at home, in keeping with findings on job-related stress (Bolger et al., 1989; Repetti, 1994). To further evaluate the spillover effects of paid work moods, future analyses should address the possibility of a differential impact of job stress and absorption. The meaning of the two constructs differ, but both operate similarly in their relationship to family work. Does one contribute more

variance than the other? It is also possible that job stress reduces mothers' post-job involvement in family work (see Bolger et al., 1989) whereas absorption has no significant effect.

In contrast to fathers, employed mothers' job-related absorption had no influence on their engagement in chores, child care, or interaction with adolescents. This sequential analysis supports Crouter and Manke's (in press) study of overall levels of job absorption: Higher job absorption on the part of husbands related to a more sex-typed division of family labor, but higher job absorption among wives did not yield a more egalitarian one. When husbands are occupied by paid work tasks, their wives may be more likely to shield them from family tasks. Bolger and his colleagues (1989) found that wives buffered the effects of husbands' job moods by taking on a greater share of family work responsibility when husbands had a stressful work day, but husbands did not reciprocate.

Employed mothers came home to family tasks whether they experienced high levels of job absorption or not. In a separate study of this sample, mothers reported less choice about performing family work than did their husbands (Larson & Richards, 1994). These findings as well as the present ones suggest that relative to fathers' moods, mothers' moods have less influence over their subsequent engagement in family work.

Fathers' absorption in paid work appeared to impede involvement in child care and socializing with adolescents, but these findings do not imply that emotional involvement in a paid job is

necessarily detrimental to family well-being. Further analysis may determine whether job absorption leads to a reduction in subsequent leisure activities with family as well. On occasions when parents require respite from work, it may become necessary to reduce involvement in family activities. The spillover effects of absorption in paid work activities may lead to a transitory abatement of family-related tasks. It is an ongoing pattern of such relationships that may produce a more enduring decline in family well-being. As the nonsignificant findings for mothers suggest, these relationships are not inevitable. The successful combination of work and family requires a greater balance between paid and unpaid work: a scenario in which one spouse is not entirely responsible for either domain.

Regarding the consequences of post-job family work, mothers reported slightly more positive levels of affect after fathers engaged in child care. This analysis suggests that fathers' involvement in child care precipitates a positive change in affect among mothers rather than the reverse hypothesis. Fathers' involvement in chores or interaction with adolescents had no effect on mothers' subsequent affect. As discussed in the previous section, fathers' care for the often-times urgent needs of children may be more likely to elicit a positive response in mothers than fathers' participation in other family tasks.

What happens within mothers to cause this change in affect? Do they simply feel happier because their husbands are sharing family

obligations, or does this sharing allow wives to direct their attention elsewhere? Larson and Richards (1994) noted that mothers experienced below-average moods while performing child care tasks. A husband who responds to his children's needs may provide his wife with an opportunity to engage in other activities, thereby uplifting her mood. Further analysis, particularly on a larger sample, may consider mothers' activities as well as her mood subsequent to fathers' participation in child care.

It is also possible that mothers' affect was influenced by fathers' moods. Larson and Richards (1994) reported that men rarely engaged in child care unless they were in a positive mood. Furthermore, men transmitted their moods to other family members. As a father was likely to be in a positive mood prior to and during his involvement in child care, his wife's subsequent report of affect may have changed as a consequence of her husband's emotion rather than his activity. Indeed, the relationship may occur because of one or more of the factors discussed here: Husbands' responsiveness to children's needs, the opportunity to do something pleasurable, and husbands' good moods may all contribute to a positive change in mothers' affect.

Fathers' affect did not change significantly after their wives' involvement in any of the family work tasks, suggesting that, unlike wives, spousal performance of child care is not predictive of husbands' daily well-being. Because mothers tend to assume primary responsibility for these tasks, fathers may not be influenced

after their wives engage in them. If equitable distributions of family labor become the norm, these linkages may diminish for mothers as well.

Conclusions

Beyond the relationships observed in this study, what do the findings imply in the larger context of healthy development and adjustment? In this sample, both employed and nonemployed mothers did more of the family work than fathers. Young adolescents are likely to model these behaviors, thereby continuing a pattern of gender-typed labor in the home (Crouter, Manke, & McHale, 1995). Yet more work on the part of fathers in at least one category, child care, consistently related to generally positive outcomes for mothers and adolescents. Does this mean that all couples ought to strive for a more egalitarian division of family work?

From a feminist perspective, the answer is "yes." If the goal is an egalitarian society, it is necessary for women and men to share paid and unpaid work. Thompson and Walker (1995) have observed that the "social construction of gender occurs through women's work in and for families" (p. 848). According to these researchers, the gendered distribution of work originates through daily interactions in the home. An uneven arrangement in which mothers perform most of the family work perpetuates a gender-divided society.

From a given couple's perspective, the answer may be "no." A congruence between attitudes and behaviors has consistently predicted marital satisfaction and personal well-being. Husbands and wives whose sex-role attitudes conflicted with their family and work roles experienced greater marital conflict than couples whose attitudes matched their behaviors (Hoffman, 1989; McHale & Crouter, 1992). Furthermore, relative to role-satisfied mothers, employed mothers who felt ambivalent about their roles reported lower well-being even though their husbands participated in feminine household chores (Perry-Jenkins et al., 1992). The research implies that if mothers are unhappy in their roles, they risk their well-being whether husbands engage in family work or not. There is considerable variation in how families divide paid and unpaid work (Crouter & Manke, in press), and harmony between attitudes and arrangements is likely to enhance life satisfaction.

Cross-cultural research provides further insight into the complexity of gender-divided work. Haas (1990) points out that because the Swedish economy depends on mothers in the labor force, the Swedish government has done more than any other institution to eliminate the traditional gender division of labor. Swedish men, however, have not fully embraced generous parental leave programs. Howes reported that only five percent of men reduced their paid work hours after the birth of a child, in contrast to sixty-two percent of women. Relative to Swedish fathers who did not take parental leave, the fathers who did were more likely to engage in child care

two years later. Yet the majority of Swedish mothers did more of the child care even among families in which fathers took leave. Howes commented: "In a circular pattern which is difficult to break, Swedish women work fewer hours in a narrow range of occupations for lower pay to combine work and family responsibilities; their primary responsibility for child care, in turn, becomes justified because they are at home more" (p. 420).

The Swedish example has underscored that even when legislation is designed to blur the gender division between paid and family work, other social structures remain in place to continue the cycle. In the United States, reasons that men retain provider-role status include gender-bias in wages, lack of family-supportive programs in the workplace (e.g., flextime, paid leaves), and the fact that some couples simply want it that way. After generations of divided work, change will not occur readily, though legislation would help to initiate it.

On the micro-level of individual couples, paternal involvement in child care may be inhibited by both parents' lack of confidence in the father's parenting skills. Fathers are more likely to participate in infant care after attending parenting classes (Parke, 1995). Presumably this training fosters the father's caretaking skills, enhancing his and the mother's confidence. Early contact with the child can lead to greater involvement throughout adolescence (Radin, 1988). Thus an intervention designed to increase paternal involvement may include a mandatory junior-high class on

parenting. Such a class is likely to enlighten women as well as men with practical information on children's physical health as well as strategies to influence optimal development.

Parenting classes may prepare fathers to care for their children, but social mores tend to dissuade fathers from playing a major role in either child care or housework. Many Americans send conflicted messages to men: Men are told that their children should come first in their lives, but they are applauded for excellence in paid work rather than parenting (e.g., Hyde & Essex, 1991). The Wall Street Journal reported that in reaction to the Family and Medical Leave Act, managers commonly inferred to men that they could only get ahead by working long hours and letting mothers take the leave (Shellenbarger, 1994). If shared parenting is a realistic goal, substantive change in how we regard men's provider-role responsibilities must precede it.

The texture of ordinary family life is of itself significant to well-being. In this sample, young adolescents experienced a different pattern of day-to-day family relations when fathers spent more time in child care. Interactions of this sort may prepare adolescents to combine paid work and family, rather than prohibit one with the other. Longitudinal research on the stability of connections between greater paternal involvement and children's well-being would shed understanding on the outcome of these processes. More participation on the part of fathers, particularly in child care and interactive

activities, may enhance emotional well-being at adolescence and, consequently, adjustment during adulthood.

APPENDIX A
FATHERS' PROVIDER-ROLE ATTITUDES QUESTIONNAIRE

Circle the number which shows how much you agree or disagree with each statement below.

1=AGREE STRONGLY

2=AGREE

3=NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE

4=DISAGREE

5=DISAGREE STRONGLY

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. If a child were ill and needed to remain home home from school, my wife would be more likely stay home with him/her than I. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. I consider myself to be the main breadwinner in the family. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. My wife's income is as vital to the well-being of our family as mine is. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. If a wife and a mother feels she is not meeting her domestic responsibilities due to her job, she should cut back on her job demands. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. It is important that the woman assume primary responsibility for child care. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. Although I may assist her, the responsibility for homemaking tasks is primarily my wife's. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

APPENDIX B

ESM SELF-REPORT: EXAMPLE OF THE ADOLESCENT FORM

Day: _____ Time Signaled: _____ Time Filled Out: _____

JUST BEFORE YOU WERE SIGNALLED:

What were you thinking about? _____

Where were you? _____

What were you doing? _____

Name of TV show, book, record or tape; topic of conversation: *(circle one)*

	NOT AT ALL				SOME WHAT				QUITE				VERY	
How much choice did you have about doing this activity?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--
Do you wish you had been doing something else?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--
How well were you paying attention?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--
How skilled are you at this activity?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				

How were you feeling before you were signaled?

	VERY MUCH	KIND OF	A LITTLE BIT	NOT AT ALL
Lonely	+++	++	+	-
Cooperative	+++	++	+	-
Tired	+++	++	+	-
Sorry	+++	++	+	-
Accepted	+++	++	+	-
Nervous	+++	++	+	-
Great	+++	++	+	-
Disappointed	+++	++	+	-
Important	+++	++	+	-

Overall, how were you feeling?

	VERY	QUITE	SOME	NEITHER	SOME	QUITE	VERY	
Cheerful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Irritable
Bored	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Excited
Unhappy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Happy
Alert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Drowsy
Angry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Friendly
Strong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Weak
Ugly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Attractive
Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Fat

If you were feeling a lot of something, why did you feel that way?

I felt: _____ Because: _____

Who were you with (or talking to on the phone)? (Check all that apply)

Alone, other people nearby ()	In class ()
Alone, no one around ()	One friend -- a boy ()
Mother ()	One friend -- a girl ()
Father ()	Several friends -- boys ()
Sisters ()	Several friends -- girls ()
Brothers ()	Several friends -- boys and girls ()
Other relatives _____ ()	Your boyfriend / girlfriend ()
Others _____ ()	

Would you have rather been: Alone () With people ()

If you were with people, were they:

	VERY	QUITE	SOME	NEITHER	SOME	QUITE	VERY	
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Unfriendly
Serious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Joking

Describe how you feel right now about:

YOUR MOTHER				YOUR FATHER			
Close to			Distant from	Close to			Distant from
<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly toward			Angry with	Friendly toward			Angry with
<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worried about			Not worried at all	Worried about			Not worried at all
<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Relaxed with			Tense toward	Relaxed with			Tense toward
<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In control of			Controlled by	In control of			Controlled by
<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> - <input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other thoughts

APPENDIX C

ESM SELF-REPORT: EXAMPLE OF THE PARENT FORM

Day: _____ Time Signaled: _____ Time Filled Out: _____

JUST BEFORE YOU WERE SIGNALLED:

What were you thinking about? _____

Where were you? _____

What were you doing? _____

Name of TV show, book, record or tape; topic of conversation: *(circle one)*

	NOT AT ALL			SOME WHAT			QUITE			VERY			
How much choice did you have about doing this activity?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+
Do you wish you had been doing something else?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+
How well were you paying attention?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+
How skilled are you at this activity?	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+	--	+
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			

How were you feeling before you were signaled?

	VERY MUCH	KIND OF	A LITTLE BIT	NOT AT ALL
Lonely	+++	++	+	-
Cooperative	+++	++	+	-
Tired	+++	++	+	-
Sorry	+++	++	+	-
Accepted	+++	++	+	-
Nervous	+++	++	+	-
Great	+++	++	+	-
Disappointed	+++	++	+	-
Important	+++	++	+	-

Overall, how were you feeling?

	VERY	QUITE	SOME	NEITHER	SOME	QUITE	VERY	
Cheerful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Irritable
Bored	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Excited
Unhappy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Happy
Alert	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Drowsy
Angry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Friendly
Strong	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Weak
Ugly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Attractive
Thin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Fat

If you were feeling a lot of something, why did you feel that way?

I felt: _____ Because: _____

Who were you with (or talking to on the phone)? (Check all that apply)

Alone, other people nearby	()	Other relatives _____	()
Alone, no one around	()	A friend or friends	()
Spouse	()	Coworkers	()
Your children _____	()	Other _____	()

Would you have rather been: Alone () With people ()

If you were with people, were they:

	VERY	QUITE	SOME	NEITHER	SOME	QUITE	VERY	
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Unfriendly
Serious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	-	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Joking

Describe how you feel right now about:

THE CHILD IN THE STUDY

YOUR SPOUSE

Close to Distant from
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Close to Distant from
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Friendly toward Angry with
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Friendly toward Angry with
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Worried about Not worried at all
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Worried about Not worried at all
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Relaxed with Tense toward
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Relaxed with Tense toward
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

In control of Controlled by
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

In control of Controlled by
☐ ☐ ☐ - ☐ ☐ ☐

Other thoughts

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